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EDITORIAL

Dr. Woddis' paper on 'Depression and Crime' raises issues that strike to the very roots of clinical criminology. For not only do his observations indicate the relation existing between on the one hand some states of depression and on the other anti-social conduct of various types, and thereby extend considerably the range of 'pathological crime', but they underline the necessity of establishing closer correlation between disorders leading to criminal conduct and those classical disorders which have hitherto been the main concern of the psychiatrist and in which, with some exceptions, the injuries caused by the disease are confined to the individual himself and to his immediate entourage. This represents a significant swing of the pendulum in forensic psychiatry. Originally at pains to establish the pathological nature of some forms of crime and to *contrast* these with, for example, the psycho-neuroses in which anti-social conduct is, as a rule, significantly inhibited, forensic psychiatrists must now retrace their steps and discover what manifestations or roots they have in common. Or perhaps it would be better to say that just as it is important to uncover the anti-social impulses that are unconsciously held in suspense by neurotic and some psychotic mechanisms or constructions so it is essential to establish what part these mechanisms and constructions unconsciously play in the *sequence* leading to anti-social abreaction.

Interestingly enough, psychiatrists are faced with a similar problem in the field of the psychoses. Clinically the alternating phases of mania and melancholia in the manic-depressive sequence stand in marked behaviouristic contrast; yet there is no doubt that during the manic phase and despite the happy or even frenzied externally directed activity of the maniac, at least an undercurrent of depression can be detected. Even here there are contradictions within contradictions; for, as Dr. Woddis points out, criminal violence is less frequent in mania than in depression.

Yet another problem arises from consideration of Dr. Woddis' paper. All observers are agreed on the absence of normal conscience reactions in cases of psychopathy; and it has become almost a habit amongst the analytically minded to attribute this either to lack of development of the unconscious conscience (super-ego) or, at most, to stunting of its development. If, however, it is possible to establish either manifest or occult depressive features operating *before* the periodic outbreaks of anti-social conduct in psychopaths, it is clear that we must think in terms of warping or hypertrophy rather than of stunting of unconscious conscience, a warping which is countered by projective methods rather than by further introversion. Schmideberg maintains¹ that the criminal psychopath shows many signs of normal super-ego activity; and it is certainly true that in such psychopaths as do *not* manifest anti-social tendencies, depressive and self-injuring mechanisms are a common feature. There is therefore good reason to consider whether the psychopath by his criminal abreactions saves himself a major psychotic depression or for that matter an attack of schizophrenia. Both schizophrenia and psychopathy have multiple fixation points, and indeed, descriptively speaking, the term 'split mind' is much more applicable to the psychopath than to the schizophrenic. However that may be, it is encouraging to realize that the dynamic approach to the individual aspects of crime is very far from being exhausted.

Mr. Morrison's paper, which formed part of a Symposium on 'Allocation and Classification', deals with Borstal allocation only, which implies two basic limitations, *i.e.* with regard to the type of institution and to the nature of the process involved. This has to be stressed in view of the much wider field covered by the term 'classification', as used in particular in American literature and correctional practice. Within these self-imposed limits, however, Mr. Morrison's paper represents a valuable contribution to one of the most intricate problems of institutional work, especially difficult in countries possessing comparatively large numbers of centrally administered institutions. He boldly tackles two essential but only rarely touched aspects of his subject, the 'criteria of allocation' and the 'judgment process' involved in the recording of group judgments by Allocation Boards. Although in this paper, for reasons of time and space, he stops short of a full discussion as being 'too much of a digression', he has succeeded in giving at least an idea of some of the mental and emotional processes likely to take place in this kind of teamwork: a 'minimum of verbalization', but considerable 'non-verbal communication', with a good deal of intuitive judgment and the inevitable compromise solutions. Mr. Morrison's list of considerations and criteria, as

¹This Journal, Vol. IV, No. 4, April 1954.

the whole of his paper, will, we hope, provoke some critical comments from specialists in this and other countries engaged in similar work. Worthy of special attention as coming from one with many years of practical experience in this field are his recommendations for future improvements: the need for a 'built-in operational research procedure'; a 'more refined and discriminating approach to personal and social relationships, more realistic methods of examination and reporting from Allocation Centres to the training institutions'. And, in addition, there remain many points where the information is not yet adequate for definite recommendations and where he can do nothing but formulate questions indicating the direction for further research.

Research into the sentencing (or 'treatment') policy of the criminal courts has been carried out, rather sporadically, for the past thirty or forty years in some countries, notably the United States. As a rule, it has taken the form of essentially statistical comparisons of the sentences imposed by different courts or by individual judges of the same court. The objections to it have been similar to those raised against prediction studies, with which sentencing research has of course much in common. Leaving aside the use of prediction tables for administrative purposes, it is the common object of both to improve judicial sentencing and to work out the best policy of preventing future crime. In the case of sentencing research there is, however, the additional, more specific, object of eliminating unjustifiable variations in sentencing and with them that feeling of injustice which they so easily produce. To promote equal treatment of 'equals' not merely in order to reduce recidivism but simply for the sake of justice as such is perhaps the strongest justification for sentencing research. In both cases it has been objected that bare statistical figures and written records can never tell the whole story—in other words, they cannot reveal whether or not an individual offender will relapse or whether, for example, two courts imposing different or identical sentences had actually to deal with different or with 'equal' cases. In all these matters, it is argued, it is the human factor that is essential. The authors of the study of the policy of London Juvenile Courts, of which the concluding part appears in the present issue, have been fully aware of these arguments. In the first place, they make it abundantly clear that theirs is a mere fact-finding investigation and that it is not their object to criticize the work of the courts: 'Not for one moment was the study concerned with good or bad judgment, but only whether like causes had like effects. . . . Nor can we lay down any fixed policy of sentencing which would be regarded as the correct policy. . . . We must seek a value-free method of comparison. . . .'. Moreover, finding themselves unable to confirm their original

hypotheses that 'there was consistency in the adjudications of the London juvenile courts' and that 'any one court of our sample . . . had a treatment policy', they readily admit that if certain data were not available from the files investigated 'this does not necessarily mean that such information was not in the possession of the magistrates' and 'our failure to confirm the hypothesis may be due to the inadequacy of the information available'. In showing the inadequacy of the material contained in the files—according to the yardstick applied in this study information on sociological factors was deficient by 21.6 per cent. that on psychological factors by 60 per cent—these findings would seem to make it imperative, however, to enquire whether court files should not in future become more informative. The fact that English Magistrates Courts, with the exception of the cases covered by sect. 17, Criminal Justice Act, 1948, are under no legal obligation to state their reasons in writing or even verbally makes it particularly difficult to check the soundness of their decisions. Such official reasons, it is true, will very often give an inadequate picture of the real reasons, and lay magistrates can hardly be expected to produce written judgments at all. Moreover, there is the problem, referred to in Mr. Morrison's paper in this issue, of how to record group judgments. In spite of such formidable difficulties, however, every effort should be made to reach a state of affairs not too far remote from Lord Justice Denning's requirement that 'the judge must give reasons for his decision' ('The Road to Justice', p. 29).

While it was one of the many limitations of this study that it could make comparisons only between, not 'within' courts, *i.e.* that it did not compare the policies of individual magistrates, one of the conclusions is that the next step should be an examination of the attitudes of individual magistrates. In view of the, at least to some extent, subjective and intuitive character of the policy of the London Juvenile Courts, as it seems to emerge from the present study, this recommendation is not unreasonable, and if carried out in the same objective, fact-finding spirit such an investigation could be of considerable value in making magistrates more clearly aware of their own unconscious bias. In the early decades of this century, when research into the work of the courts was still more of a novelty than it is now, the very idea of judges or magistrates being even unconsciously biased would have been regarded as outrageous; it is so no longer.

DEPRESSION AND CRIME¹

By G. M. WODDIS (NOTTINGHAM)

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the relationship which sometimes, and only sometimes, appears to exist between states of depression and the performance of criminal acts. No attempt will be made to define precisely the term 'depression' in this context. Whatever the arguments about the ætiology in a particular case, depression is a subjective experience, 'felt in the nerves and felt along the heart', which sometimes presents signs and symptoms even to the untrained observer, but which very occasionally is first forced on social awareness by the commission of an anti-social act or crime as defined by Craig (8). He defines crime as 'an anti-social act, of varying degree, the limits of which are defined by the laws of the country in which the individual lives'. That the police are aware of the commission of a crime as the first indication of mental illness is shown by the evidence of the Association of Chief Police Officers given before the Royal Commission on the Law relating to Mental Illness and Mental Deficiency; their view was: 'The hazard of the person of unsound mind might present itself without warning and in its most dangerous form on the first occurrence of the illness.'

In this paper it is hoped to show that (1) in a small number of cases, the depressive state may not be recognized even after the commission of a crime because its possibility has not been considered; (2) in a few cases, a tendency to repeated acts of crime has been 'cured' by treating depression; (3) sometimes, especially after acts of violence, all the clinical signs of depression may disappear, as if the very explosive nature of the act had worked as a cathartic and the patient had 'cured' himself.

The assertion that depression may be unrecognized in relation to crime is at variance with the views of Sir D. K. Henderson (16). He states explicitly that mental disorder does not start suddenly without warning; that friends or relatives have been aware for a long time of odd, strange conduct; and that when a crime is committed by someone who, up to the moment of the crime, was looked on by the majority of his fellow-men as an ordinary individual, it is fair to assume, in the first place at least, that the criminal act was that of a sane and responsible person. Although this argument appears valid and undoubtedly applies to many types of

¹ Based on a paper read to a Conference of the National Association of Probation Officers at Loughborough, September 1955.

mental illness, depressive illness may not be noticed by friends or relatives. If it is, the patient is simply told to 'pull himself together'; the significance of the illness is not recognized and medical help is not considered necessary. Where a general practitioner is consulted, he may be misled by complaints of indigestion, fibrositis, headaches or any other of the many disguises in which depression may present itself. Neustatter (17) reported a man who had attempted to throttle his mother, to whom he was devoted, stun his brother and all but succeeded in cutting his throat after a year of unrecognized depression.

ACTS OF VIOLENCE

Most authorities agree that depressive states are frequently associated with crimes of violence. Norwood East (9) found that crimes of violence are more frequent in depressed than in exalted states. Out of 53 depressed law-breakers, 34 had committed crimes of violence and in a series of 52 exalted subjects only 7 were so convicted. Christie (6) found that of 258 unselected male homicides, insane at trial or later certified, the most frequent mental disorder was the manic-depressive, accounting for 20 per cent. of the total. He too pointed out that the patient may be unaware of the periods of depression through which he passes. Grierson (15) agreed that depression is the greatest factor in capital cases and that similar figures could be shown in cases of personal violence of all degrees not amounting to murder. Batt (5) drew attention to the paucity of references in text-books to homicidal tendencies in depressive psychoses and, from his series of 20 cases, concluded that even when gross depressive symptoms had been present for some time prior to the crime, relatives and even skilled observers did not realize there was anything seriously wrong. As he so forcibly put it, 'the police discover the patient rather than the relatives'. He also stresses a most important clinical feature which may obscure the diagnosis. Depressive patients often show rapid remission after an unsuccessful suicidal attempt; and the same is true of a successful homicidal attempt when suicide had been previously contemplated. Examination in prison after the crime may be negative as regards present evidence of depression and careful history-taking may be necessary to establish the complete picture.

The following case histories illustrate a number of the points made so far:

Case 1. A 34-year-old man was charged with murdering his favourite 3-year-old daughter by stabbing her with a large sword several times. His mother's grandfather had died in a mental hospital, a paternal uncle had committed suicide and the accused had suffered from fits from 7 to 10 years, with a negative E.E.G. after the crime. For four months prior to the crime, he had been out of work

with recurrent malaria, was in financial difficulties and threatened with eviction. He had been depressed, felt a failure and no good. There was no hope for the future and he did not know where his family would go if they were turned out. For weeks he had been planning to kill the whole family and then himself. As soon as he had killed his daughter, the urge to kill the rest of the family and himself vanished. At the time of examination he showed no evidence of depression, but he was found guilty but insane.

Case 2. A miner of 30, who had boxed for the Army and represented his Division at the Coal Board National Championships, was charged with the murder of his wife by stabbing her. For a year prior to the crime his father and a friend had noticed a change in him. He had neglected his appearance, failed to work, would not speak to friends and complained of his stomach. He sat for long periods, rubbing his hands together, sighing heavily and not speaking. He had been thinking of suicide for a year, and had tried to obtain a revolver with which to shoot his wife, then the children and finally himself. He had been brooding over this for a long time. He stabbed his wife, during a quarrel, with the knife he was using to cut up cabbage for dinner. He, too, showed no evidence of depression after the crime. The verdict was guilty and he was hanged.

Case 3. A 44-year-old man violently killed his grandmother who had acted callously towards his crippled aunt who had befriended him. No evidence was obtained to suggest a previously existing depressive illness, but a constable's description in court of the semi-stuporose condition in which he found the man, some seventy miles from the scene of the crime, so impressed the jury that he was found guilty but insane. Incidentally, this man was sure he had done wrong and ought to hang.

Case 4. This was unusual in that the man came to my out-patient clinic because he was afraid he might commit murder. His story was that, while depressed in the Army, he had shot a sergeant in the face, was sentenced to an Army Detention Barracks and, when the sergeant died over a year later, no further charge was preferred. When he came to see me, the man was morbidly depressed, retarded in thought, and afraid he might kill somebody, perhaps his wife. He was given a course of E.C.T. and lost his depression and fear of committing murder.

Case 5. This was a married woman aged 25 who was charged with murdering her 2-year-old child by throwing it in the river. The story was unusual in that the accused had first told the police that a strange man had snatched the baby from the pram in which she was pushing it along a river bank and thrown it into the river. It was some time before the truth came out. Her father was hypercritical, hard to please, never had a good word for anybody and was moody, sometimes not speaking to anybody for days, for no reason. There was no other family history of note. The accused had been timid all her life, always afraid of the dark, of cows, thunder and lightning, and particularly of being alone. All her life she had talked loudly in her sleep. She married at 21, having known her husband for twelve weeks. After the first year of marriage, she became increasingly aware of periods of depression related to her husband's behaviour. He refused to work and spent his days in the pubs and cinemas on money his parents gave him. Nine

months before the crime with which she was charged, her second baby died at the age of three weeks in its sleep. A post-mortem showed acute bilateral primary pneumonia. The accused felt very depressed and ill after this and saw her doctor twice in the next few months, after a depressive attack in which she attempted to gas herself. She was seen by a psychiatrist, but no diagnosis was made. During the next few months she remained depressed, lost weight, could not sleep, was obsessed with the idea that people thought badly of her and that she was a failure; she thought frequently of suicide. One evening she took the baby for a walk and as she passed the river she heard a voice inside her head saying, 'You'd both be better off in there'. She did not remember putting the baby in the river, and in fact, when I saw her, insisted the baby was still alive and said that at night she heard a voice in her head saying that there was nothing to worry about, that the baby was alive and well. Both the Prison Medical Officer and I were of the opinion that she was suffering from recurrent post-puerperal depression and she was found guilty but insane.

For comparison with crime occurring in a depressive setting, here are two cases of violent crimes committed by young schizophrenics.

Case 6. This was a young man of 31 who was charged with the murder of a next-door neighbour, a woman. A maternal grandfather had died in a mental hospital, a brother of the accused had attempted suicide and succeeded at the second attempt and the mother of the accused had been in a mental hospital for six years, suffering from delusions and hearing voices saying the house was to be bombed. Most of his life the accused had been rather reserved and moody, with few friends and few interests outside the home. He had worked in the same pit for many years. When his mother was certified he became sleepless and wept a lot for about ten days. Since that time he had become rather slovenly and morose and, according to his family, he appeared 'depressed, miserable and melancholic', but nobody realized he was psychotic. He told me he had killed the neighbour because she was the cause of his mother's illness, by 'scandalizing and blackmailing' the mother. He had been thinking of killing the neighbour for six years, seriously for two years before actually doing it. He believed the neighbour was trying to drive him insane as well. He had considered strangling her (which would take too long), shooting (which would require a licence) and stabbing (which would be quick). He committed the murder on the day he did because he had been given notice to quit and it was his last chance. He did it by hitting the lady over the head with a bottle, which broke, then a poker to stun her and finally stabbed her. He knew it was wrong, but he 'had to do it'. Afterwards he reported to the police what he had done, having planned to do so before he committed the murder. Although he was certifiable at the time of his trial, he was fit to stand trial and was found guilty because he understood that he was killing and knew it was wrong and punishable. Subsequent to being sentenced to death he was found to be insane and was sent to Broadmoor.

Case 7. The second schizophrenic was a youth of 19 with a sad history. His father was an alcoholic, frequently unkind to the accused and often nagging him to go to work. The accused, owing to ill-health, had led an abnormal life. At the age of three he was found to have tuberculosis of the right hip, resulting finally in a 2½-inch shortening of the right leg. From 3 to 8 years he was in hospital,

part of the time being strapped to a frame. During this time the hospital came under bombing, and he can remember his terror as he lay unable to move. After an operation, he commenced schooling at the age of 9 and felt different from the other boys because of his inability to take part in games and other physical activities. He compensated with day-dreams in which he saw himself as a famous lawyer or doctor and later as an emperor. He had a further operation at 16 and was in plaster for some months. He had done a number of simple factory jobs since. For a few years prior to the crime with which he was charged he had had attacks of depression, in some of which he was 'compelled' to wander away from home. For a few months he had been troubled with thoughts of suicide, which became transformed into the idea of killing somebody, anybody, so that he would be hanged. This general homicidal idea became transferred to one specific person, his father, who was a tyrant and deserved to die. Finally one day, when his father was lying in a drunken stupor on his bed, the accused took a hatchet and struck him several times on the head, damaging him severely, but not killing him. When I saw the accused before his trial, he showed evidence of thought block, wore a puzzled frown and complained that 'it was not all clear in his head'. There was blunting and displacement of affect and his emotional responses were incongruous. He said that he lived in a world of his own. 'I think you day-dream and drift into a world of your own. You go on thinking until you get up against a barrier. Then you stop thinking and come to your present self. Then you start building empires of thought and try to make it a whole.'

He thought there was some special significance in the fact that his birthday was the same as Hitler's, and that his name was Michael, who was the Avenger and guarded the Gates of Heaven. The court accepted the view that, although he was fit to plead and was not insane within the meaning of the M'Naghten Rules, hospital rather than prison was indicated and the provisions of section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, were invoked for this purpose.

STEALING

States of depression and tension often appear to be precursors of theft and sometimes the stealing appears to be an integral part of a depressive psychosis (Lindesay Neustatter (18)). Elsewhere (19) he reviewed five cases of irrational theft which had taken place in a state of tension and depression.

Of 338 cases of shoplifting referred to the Chicago Psychiatric Institute, 313 were females and no less than 77 per cent. showed definable nervous disorder, of which mild depression was the most frequent (4).

Case 8. The following is a good example of the above points. A woman of 61 was admitted to hospital in 1951 with complaints of having felt depressed for years, of being afraid to go out, of feeling that she did not deserve to live. She had a lifelong sense of guilt after an elder sister told her that the mother's death from cancer of the uterus was the patient's fault. Twenty years prior to admission she had stolen a dress from a shop and was fined £40. For sixteen years she had sought medical advice for her nerves. Nine years before admission she stole another

frock and was sent to prison for three months. She became afraid to go out in case the temptation to steal became too strong, was persuaded to go out 'for her health's sake', stole two more dresses and was sent to prison for six months. Since then she had locked herself in when her husband went out and had refused to answer the door. Shortly before admission she had gone out to buy her daughter a blouse and dressingtable set as a birthday present, but instead stole a handbag and two tins of paint. For years she had felt her hands were unclean, and had a compulsion to wash them constantly, without relief. She received a course of E.C.T. and some psychotherapy, felt happier than at any time in her life, was able to go into shops without any temptation to steal and has never locked herself in her house since her discharge in March 1952.

Case 9. This was an unusual and interesting case of a man of 21, charged with persistent stealing of motor cars. There were over a dozen charges in his previous history, but many more incidents for which he was not charged. He had a history of recurrent depressive attacks associated with taking cars. It had all started when his father was burnt to death in a tar lorry on an aerodrome on which the patient was working. The patient himself had dragged his father from the burning cab. Abreactive treatment, under pentothal, revealed intense feelings of guilt, arising from a realization that fear for his own safety had prevented him from rescuing his father as quickly as he might. Further treatment showed that every time he drove a car away he 'saw' his father seated beside him, being driven to safety. At the time of the fire, he knew he ought to have jumped into the lorry and driven it into the wind, to keep the flames at the back from overwhelming the cab. He has been leading a blameless life for five years.

If one accepts the statement of the Parisian Prefect of Police, quoted by Cooke (7), that 84 per cent. of all crimes of violence committed by women are perpetrated in the premenstrual phase of the menstrual cycle, it is not difficult to accept that the menopause may also be associated with crime. In my experience, shoplifting of a particularly meaningless type may be associated with involutional depression which has been unrecognized prior to the offence.

Case 10. A woman of 53 was admitted in a state of acute depression after stealing a few apples from the shop of a friend. She had been depressed for a year, sleeping badly, felt the neighbours were talking about her disparagingly and had contemplated suicide. This dated from the death of her aged mother whom she had nursed. She recovered after a course of E.C.T. and then related how for some time she had been aware of 'the need for punishment'.

Case 11. This was a middle-aged woman who had been depressed over a period of years, during which time she had been nursing her 87-year-old mother, who was senile, confused, abusive and difficult to manage. On one of her rare visits to a neighbouring town she stole completely useless articles from a shop. She too had had strong feelings of guilt and a feeling that she ought to be punished, before the crime. She recovered from her depression with E.C.T. and when her mother died two months later there was no return of morbid depression.

Case 12. A woman aged 49 was charged with stealing three purses from the handbags of shoppers and using trading cheques from one purse to buy two

clothes' horses when she already had two at home. She gave her correct address and name at the shop at which she purchased the clothes' horses. Her father had been a worrier of gloomy disposition, who was meticulously tidy and easily took offence. He had died twenty years previously and the 71-year-old mother of the accused was in poor health and had lived with the latter for the previous year. One maternal aunt had attempted suicide. The five brothers and one sister of the accused were all described as 'touchy, moody, easily upset and easily depressed'. One brother had suffered from a major psychiatric illness, in which he was very depressed, felt people were talking about him and did no work for four months. The accused had been timid and sensitive, cried easily and worried about 'doing things right'. She was afraid of thunder, water and heights as a child, had frequent nightmares and later became afraid of insanity. All her life she had been faddy about neatness and cleanliness, could not bear a speck of dirt about the house, was constantly compelled to wash her hands, and felt she wanted to scream if anything was out of place or out of order. She had her first breakdown at 27, shortly after her marriage, and this apparently took the form of palpitations and exhaustion. During the twenty years prior to my seeing her she had many attacks of depression lasting up to a fortnight at a time. Three years before her 'crimes' she became depressed and sensitive after the extraction of teeth, slept badly, felt a failure and no good and felt she would bring ruin on her family. She had been worried about thoughts of suicide for some time. There had been only two menstrual periods in the previous nine months, and almost complete loss of libido over the previous two years, leading to feelings of guilt. When seen, she presented a typical picture of agitated melancholia, being tense, twisting and untwisting her handkerchief throughout the interview, showing evidence of thought block and expressing ideas of unworthiness and suicidal thoughts, which had been present for some time prior to the 'crimes'. She was unable to explain why she had committed the acts she was charged with, except that they were preceded by intolerable tension and followed by short-lived relief. The court accepted that her 'crimes' were associated with her psychiatric illness and she was bound over on condition that she had psychiatric treatment.

In my series, there are several other very similar cases, including a schoolteacher whose husband committed suicide the day before an appointment was made for him to consult me professionally. His wife felt guilty, became depressed and almost confused and stole a pair of shoes several sizes too large for her.

Case 13. This is unusual in many of its features. A 23-year-old youth was charged with breaking into two houses in the early morning. He had never been able to deal with frustration and had often responded with depressive phases when things went wrong. He had previously been in prison for an indecent assault on a strange young girl after a quarrel with his girl friend. After a tonsillectomy under pentothal anaesthesia, he had become extremely dissociated and wandered about the ward in the early morning, with subsequent amnesia. On the afternoon of the crime his fiancée had broken off their engagement. He became depressed and attempted suicide by taking a large number of buto-barbitone tablets and benzedrine tablets. He became dissociated and broke into two houses, talking

irrelevant nonsense about a colonel who was responsible for the death of four innocent men. There was undoubtedly a large hysterical element involved in this patient, but equally undoubtedly he was very depressed that afternoon.

SEXUAL MISDEMEANOURS

Just as shoplifting in women often seems to be preceded by a period of tension and depression, exhibitionism in some men occurs only when they are pathologically depressed (Allen, quoting Rickles (2)). Of a number of such cases, the following is an example:

Case 14. A man of 23 was charged with indecent exposure. The family history was strongly positive for neurotic traits. The patient had always been nervous, moody and timid. He had been invalided from the mines with claustrophobia accompanied by depression. Five years before the offence he had cerebrospinal meningitis and was in hospital for seven months. After this he became increasingly solitary, sat looking into the distance for long periods and was sunk in deep depression. On the day of the offence he was particularly depressed and overcome with a sense of failure. The exposure took place on his way home from work, appeared to be unpremeditated, and was not preceded by sexual preoccupation. There was evidence that in fact he took little conscious interest in girls. Prolonged psychotherapy produced no improvement in his depressive attacks, which eventually were cleared up with E.C.T. and he is now happily married.

One case of bestiality in a depressive setting is of interest, since it is generally assumed that such crimes, in this country at least, are performed by mental defectives (Allen (3)).

Case 15. A 47-year-old man of average intelligence, who had held the same job as gypsum miner for twenty-four years, was charged with bestiality. His wife had died ten years previously, giving birth to their only child, a boy. The latter was boarded out and the patient saw him only at week-ends.

Two years prior to the offence, he persuaded his best friend to come and work at the gypsum mine and saw him killed shortly after in a roof fall. He had become increasingly depressed, disinterested, felt unwanted and brooded over his son's unhappiness with his foster-parents. He lost interest in his appearance, and went unshaven, whereas he had been neat and took pride in his appearance. He frequently consulted his doctor for 'indigestion', which the doctor ascribed to the beer the patient was taking to try to relieve his depression. On the night of the offence, he had taken his son back to his foster parents and was sitting alone in his sister-in-law's house, feeling miserable and unwanted, until she returned home at 11 p.m. There was a quarrel over a trifle, he felt even more despondent and unwanted, went out and impulsively committed his offence. He was morbidly depressed when seen, was given E.C.T., his symptoms disappeared, he felt no longer an outcast and was able to mix with his fellows and lead a full social life.

DISCUSSION

The case material presented raises a number of questions to which answers have not yet been found. (1) Why are crimes committed by some depressed patients, but not by the vast majority? (2) Is it possible, in any particular

depressed case, to predict the likelihood of criminal acts? (3) What is the best type of 'treatment' for people who commit crimes while depressed?

From my own experience, it appears that the unconscious wish of the depressed 'criminal', in many cases, is for punishment. It is as if he commits the crime in order to bring retribution on himself. Aichhorn (1) certainly felt that he had cases in his institution who did everything they could to provoke punishment before committing the crime with which they were charged. Gillespie (14) lists seven different possible psychological mechanisms which may lie behind delinquent acts. Included are attempts to bolster the ego, to achieve substitutive compensatory satisfactions and a wish for punishment which was always a response to a conscious or unconscious sense of guilt. Schulte W. Hans Morija (20), analysing a series of 14 cases, concluded that depression, due to a variety of causes, may lead to crime where there is loss of self-esteem. Freud (11) was convinced that some crimes are committed precisely because they are forbidden. Such patients suffer for an oppressive sense of guilt, which is present prior to the transgression, and which is mitigated by the commission of the misdeed. Of such transgressors he said: 'These persons we might justifiably describe as criminals from a sense of guilt.' He felt (Freud (12)) that this obscure sense of guilt derived from the Oedipus complex, revealing itself in children who are 'naughty' in order to provoke punishment and are quiet and contented after chastisement. More specifically, Freud (13), in his paper on 'Mourning and Melancholia', showed the relationship between suicidal thoughts and murderous attacks. The former are merely the latter re-directed against the self. On the verbal plane, the self-torments of the melancholic gratify the same hate-charged impulses.

From the clinical point of view, where depression is frankly psychotic and associated with murder because of delusional ideas, the M'Naghten Rules will apply or the case will be dealt with on its merits, before, during or after trial. Difficulties arise when there are no signs of gross mental illness at the time of examination and not enough attention is paid to, or not enough evidence is accumulated about the antecedent history.

The preventative rôle of psychiatry in possible cases of homicide is greater than is perhaps realized. Too many children are killed by mothers who have been carrying too big a psychological burden for too long. Such mothers, frequently with large families under school age, with obsessional standards of perfection, become afraid of further pregnancies and therefore of the ordinary affectionate advances of their husbands. They feel guilty about their rejection of the husband, become depressed and start dreaming of the children being dead or expressing fears that some harm may come to them. These dreams are of such grave prognostic import as to warrant,

in my view, surgical sterilization of the mother, where there are already two or three young children.

Similarly, middle-aged men, suffering from involutional melancholia, with delusions of failure and impending doom, should be taken seriously when they dream of their wives being dead or express fears that something terrible will happen to them. Left untreated, such a man may destroy the wife 'to save her from something worse' often using gross savagery in the process. Where there is a history of previous crime associated with mood swings, the incidence of a new attack of depression should always be viewed as the possible precursor of a new crime as in Case 4.

In many cases of less degrees of crime, the patient may be offered relief and society protection, by out-patient treatment, which frequently may take the form of E.C.T. and/or psychotherapy. Each case must be separately considered and the expectation and the right of the community to protection may weigh the scales in favour of in-patient treatment.

The value of prison as 'treatment' in, for example, cases of exhibitionism has not been subjected to exhaustive statistical analysis and presumably our knowledge will remain sketchy until the long-promised psychopathic prison hospital is in being. Norwood East, on the basis of the small proportion of recidivists among exhibitionists awarded a stiff term of imprisonment, is convinced that this is the 'treatment' of choice (10).

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BORSTAL ALLOCATION¹

BY R. L. MORRISON (LONDON)

THE PROBLEM

Each year something between fifteen hundred and two thousand delinquent lads between the ages of 16 and 21 are sentenced to Borstal training, a system whose long-term aim is to transform them into mature, well-adjusted citizens. Thirteen training institutions, each different from the other, are available for this purpose and some sort of allocation process is clearly necessary to ensure that each lad is sent to the institution most likely to train him successfully. Finally, the whole operation must take into account wider social considerations such as public security and public opinion.

BORSTAL TRAINING AS AN EVOLVING SYSTEM

A purely theoretical approach to such a problem would probably begin with a thorough analysis of the human material involved and a consequent attempt to provide the kind of sorting system and training facilities then revealed as necessary. A more hard-headed attitude might lead one to examine what training resources were available and how the trainees could be fitted into these as satisfactorily as possible. Neither of these approaches is sufficient by itself and neither is very realistic. Unfortunately, it is hardly ever possible to tackle such problems from scratch. For all practical purposes, Borstal training has emerged as part of a developing process in the penal system generally. This process is one of increasing sensitivity to the diversity of the criminal population and of consequently greater differentiation in its handling. Such developments proceed to the point of maximum efficiency allowed at any one time by the knowledge and understanding available for an adequate assessment of the problems involved and the working out of appropriate solutions. These are in turn limited by the resources, including purely material ones, which are available at any one time, by the climate of the times themselves and by certain other considerations of a more purely organisational or administrative character.

¹ Based on a paper read to the Scientific Group for the Study of Delinquency Problems as part of a Symposium on 'Allocation and Classification' held on 18th January, 1957.

I am indebted to the Prison Commissioners for permission to publish this article which does not necessarily represent their views.

BASIC PRINCIPLES AND ASSUMPTIONS

The present Borstal allocation system involves a number of principles and assumptions. From these I would select two areas of special importance.

(1) *The Individual (or Client-Centred) Approach to Allocation.* This begins by recognising the uniqueness of the individual Borstal lad. One concentrates on his needs, how adequate are the personal resources which he can draw on to meet these needs and how severe are the personal limitations and defects which would impede this. Two slightly different approaches are possible from this point.²

(a) Since certain interacting personal and social forces have combined to produce a particular delinquent solution, the training attack should be concentrated on these, its emphasis being directly related to the weightings which can be ascribed to the various 'causative' factors involved, to their unique pattern in the individual case. This is a logical, defensible position not unlike that recently expressed by Sheldon Glueck (3).

(b) Another equally tenable view is that Borstal training as we have defined it involves us in a consideration of the individual's whole life pattern in his total social situation, delinquency being only one aspect of this, of varying degrees of importance in different cases. The problem then becomes that of ensuring that the individual's total needs are met in such a way that he is more likely in future to achieve a good general social adjustment and that any weaknesses likely to hinder this (i.e. any potentially criminogenic features, whether they have contributed to past delinquency or not) should be tackled during training.

Members of Allocation Boards, like many other people, are seldom articulate about their basic assumption. My own impression is that we operate more on the latter broader basis. To some extent this is inclusive of the former, as well as taking care of the problems which may arise following the Borstal sentence itself. Certain inconsistencies between the two approaches may emerge when one tries to translate their respective strategies into more immediate tactical or training terms, but normally these do not present serious difficulties in practice.

(2) *The Social Setting of Training.* One may look at the Borstal institutions themselves, their general characteristics and their training facilities as a reflection of the Borstal population and its needs as perceived at this point

² Both have been reflected in the layout of successive Allocation Report Forms designed to summarise Board findings. A former section on Contributory Factors, in its operational as opposed to its potential research function, derived from the first and the section on Factors in Training and Resettlement stems from the second of these approaches.

in time, within the frame set by the wider social and material considerations already mentioned. One would find a rough but on the whole satisfactory correspondence between the resources of the system and the needs of its population, since, apart altogether from formal visiting arrangements to ensure liaison between allocation personnel and their field colleagues, the changing process of Borstal training includes a crude form of feed-back which first reaches the Allocation Centres in the form of 'complaints,' news of absconding, training difficulties or transfers and eventually affects the system by way of more remote repercussions from success rates.

Borstal institutions have certain common elements and certain distinguishing characteristics. To confine oneself to the more obvious, they vary in size, geographical and physical features, security,³ training facilities (vocational, educational, etc.) staff, including the availability of specialists such as doctors and in the range and quality of inter-personal relations fostered by their separate cultural traditions. The latter may be modified from time to time by policy or the influence of successive governors. Ignoring the question of how much emphasis should be placed on it, I would include here the inmate culture itself. A certain stability in the patterning of these social and cultural features within and between institutions arises from consistent allocation over a period of time, though this is offset to some extent by such factors as staff changes and other events which produce fluctuations in institutional morale and atmosphere.

One recognises, then, that training takes place in a social setting. The most important assumption made here is that a certain degree (undefined) of homogeneity is desirable both for psychological and practical reasons and conversely that a certain heterogeneity is also necessary. The point is that, although a certain artificial uniformity of population may be convenient for some training purposes, it carries with it certain training disadvantages. Institutional life must reflect to some extent the diversity of normal social relations in the wider outside community. The problem of deciding on the optimum balance of such social features, the best kind of groups for general training purposes, is an extremely complicated one to which we are still seeking answers. It is doubtful whether any 'theoretical' answer will emerge which would eliminate empirical methods and value assumptions.

Certain of the administrative aspects have already been discussed by Mannheim and Spencer (4). Also clearly relevant here are questions of

³ There are at the moment 8 'open' Borstals and 5 'closed'. Present policy is that 'in assessing Borstal accommodation the Commissioners have been working on a proportional division of 3/5 in open and 2/5 in closed conditions'. The wish is expressed that open conditions could be extended but this is regarded as an unfair risk with the type of boys at present received. (Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year 1955. H.M.S.O.).

security, 'contamination' or, as Wilkins (9) has it, the 'normative effects of association'.

THE ALLOCATION CENTRES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

There are two Allocation Centres, one at Latchmere House and the other a wing of Wormwood Scrubs Prison, and their functions are briefly as follows:— Investigation and diagnosis, the preparation of a lad for his coming training, allocation itself, reporting to Training Borstals and to the Pre-Discharge Section of After-Care. The latter involves communication of the main findings about a lad and his history and also the provision of recommendations as to how he should be treated during his training and on discharge. This function, and it could be regarded as the major function of Allocation Centres, has been expressed as the provision of certain treatment hypotheses which are tested out and modified where necessary by the experience gained during a lad's training and resettlement.

THE MECHANICS OF THE ALLOCATION PROCESS

A brief account seems indicated at this point of the mechanics of the allocation system as it has developed so far. There are now no major differences in procedure at the two centres.

A lad should arrive at an Allocation Centre fully documented as a result of the inquiries made during his pre-trial period. Further investigation continues with his psychological and educational testing, a practical check-up on his vocational skills and interests, interview with a social worker and possibly a visit by her to his home, observation and further interviews by housemasters and psychologist with referral to the doctor on any relevant medical matter and screening by the psychologist for specialist investigation of any psychiatric problem, including certification, the possibility of psychotherapy, etc. (At Latchmere House there is also a visiting psychiatrist). Questions of overlap and differentiation in the rôles of the allocation team-members, in their areas of investigation, etc., are too complicated to be covered here.

Reports are prepared separately by all members of the Allocation Board. The Board, comprising the housemaster and psychologist concerned, a representative of the social workers, the educational psychologist and the vocational officer, meets weekly under the chairmanship of the Governor of the Boys' Prison.⁴ The findings of the individual members are then pooled, the lad makes a token appearance and, after he has left, his disposal is discussed

⁴ Within the last few months a representative of the Discipline Officer Staff has been included on a rota basis on the Latchmere Board.

and decided. Currently at Wormwood Scrubs, 25 cases are dealt with on each Board, though 20 or less would be more normal and 15 or less by a similar procedure at Latchmere House.

The whole process of investigation and disposal is scheduled to take six weeks, though this period may be slightly extended or reduced in certain cases. A further period ranging from a few days to a few weeks may elapse, depending on vacancies, before a lad is finally despatched to his training institution.

Responsibility for the allocation decision is that of the Boys' Governor on the advice of his Board. Normally, agreement exists or is quickly reached, any final disagreement being seldom serious in extent and resolved in the last resort by the decision of the Board's Chairman. The occasional exceptional case is referred for the opinion of a Training Governor or a Commissioner. Normally, the Allocation Governor operates with considerable autonomy and freedom from higher control.

THE CRITERIA OF ALLOCATION

One is constantly being asked to list the criteria on which allocation is based or to give the reasons in order of importance which resulted in the lad being sent to X Borstal rather than Y or Z. Investigators have repeatedly asked why Boards do not set this sort of thing down for research purposes.

(1) *The judgment process involved.* The fact is that the recording of group judgments in these terms, i.e. the best reasons in the best order, has to my mind never been successfully achieved by Allocation Boards (or any other boards in my experience). We have not been unaware of the potential usefulness of such procedures and have even made abortive attempts to achieve them.⁵ Beyond emphasising how difficult this is to do operationally, it seems to me that Boards prefer not to work within such a rigid analytic framework. We are back here on the old problem of intuitive versus analytic approaches, clinical versus actuarial methods with the further complication of a socialised as opposed to an individual judgment process. A full discussion of what this involves, especially in the way of inter-personal dynamics in our present case, would be too much of a digression.

Allocation Boards, especially experienced teams which have been functioning in stable fashion over a period of time with a heavy case load, are under a fair amount of pressure to make their decisions in as streamlined a fashion as possible without injustice to the individuals whose future is at stake. There is also considerable pressure on specialists like psychologists,

⁵ The Allocation Report Form mentioned in a previous foot-note continues to pay lip-service to the ideal but its completion is in practice achieved mainly by 'division of labour'. The section on Board Comment where this is occasionally used comes nearest to the recording of group opinion.

both internally as well as from their colleagues, to translate their findings into field terms including recommendations for specific institutions. Allocation takes place with a minimum of verbalisation, though there is considerable non-verbal communication between members on the basis of a developed sensitivity to minimal cues derived from the expressive behaviour of one's colleagues. This sort of thing tends to puzzle visitors.

I would regard the judgment process in allocation as wherever possible intuitive, global and concrete with a reluctance to take matters further where there is clear agreement about disposal and a resort to analysis of a more or less disciplined kind (i.e. in discussion) only when this is clearly made necessary by differences of opinion, apparent discrepancies of fact, ambiguities and inconsistencies arising from a lad's behaviour and so on.⁶

(2) *Criteria.* What are the criteria or grounds for discussion when such verbal analysis is resorted to? My own way of looking at this leads me to set out the following categories of relevant operational considerations arranged in what might be regarded as their psychological order rather than in any more purely logical sequence.

(a) *General reference points.* These set the framework or reduce the possibilities of disposal, though not necessarily in clear-cut or rigid fashion for all cases: — Age, physical and social maturity, degree of criminal experience and sophistication, security risks, the likelihood of absconding, etc.

(b) *Criteria proper*, i.e. the positive approach to training needs which may vary in complexity with the individual case.

(i) *More specific training needs* such as vocational training in a particular trade, education whether of a basic kind to deal with backwardness or with some technical or other emphasis, the development of some specific hobby or interest. Such matters as the practice of a particular religion or the fostering of regular visits from home would also be relevant here.

(ii) *More diffuse personal or 'psychological' needs*, e.g. for a certain kind of social climate, atmosphere or tempo, the provision of opportuni-

⁶ The statement that in some cases the group judgment process is an intellectual, analytic one is neither a claim that emotional factors are entirely absent nor an admission that a similar analytic process, however vague and ill-defined, goes on subconsciously or unconsciously in the making of intuitive judgments. Nor can it be concluded that where a clinical psychologist, or any other Board member, adopts this method of communicating with his colleagues, he necessarily used it in the first place. One may be driven to later analytic rationalisations of clinical judgments that one originally made by creating dynamic hypotheses, more or less specific or generalised, about a lad's probable response to conditions at a particular Borstal, as far as these were known or could be foreseen. Even so, the commonest mode of mental activity operating in these situations is most accurately regarded as a mixed clinical-actuarial one.

ties for certain kinds of personal relationships with staff and other lads (a framework of support and 'mothering' as opposed to a more rigorous, disciplined regime and so on). My personal bias leads me to emphasise this as the heart of the matter (7).

(c) *More specific limiting conditions.* To a large extent these correspond to the more specific needs just mentioned, clearly so in the case of the vocational and educational facilities available or accessible from different institutions. The presence or absence of a full-time Medical Officer or of an Army Cadet Corps would be further examples. I would also include here a 'mixed bag' of *restraints*, such as the advisability of separating lads concerned in the same offence from each other or from companions already at Borstal, the capacity of an institution to absorb any point in time, further sex or violence cases, or particular varieties of these. At the extreme here would be the concrete question of vacancies or the amount of delay anticipated before transfer.

(3) *Other psychological variables.* The looseness of such operational formulations will be clear if one asks, for example, where various abilities or personal qualities fit in. I should tend to regard the association which emerges between disposal and intelligence, for example, as a by-product rather than as evidence of the direct use of such information in allocation. To some extent, high intelligence would suggest a need and low intelligence a restraint. The assessment of abilities or personal qualities or traits would be components in the broader process of fitting the total personality into the most appropriate social context or estimating whether an individual was capable of coping with certain institutional rôles or meeting the demands of certain situations (such as cycling miles to work unsupervised). Here again the method is analytic only to the extent described above.

(4) *Punishment.* One further 'omission' deserves special mention. Punishment, except in the rather unusual case where it might be regarded as a strong individual need, has little or no place in the consciously applied scheme of allocation criteria and this is as it should be. I am not, however, attempting to deny that the process of allocation may provide scope for the oblique or concealed expression of negative or punitive feelings which can hardly be avoided by people working in the penal field. I would refer you here to a paper by de Berker on institutional tensions (1).

THE CRITERIA IN PRACTICE

Allocation, then, involves an ordering of priorities, a balancing of gains and losses and almost always a process of compromise in the individual case. How are these priorities worked out in practice?

What sort of considerations make decisions difficult or easy and rapidly disposed of? Here are the kind of questions which Board members might discuss.

(1) *Generally*. How far they feel puzzled or uncertain about a lad himself, how far their reactions, especially where these are strong, conflict with the views of their colleagues.

(2) *About the lads*. Whether or not a case presents any special features, how definite is the behaviour pattern, how intense or complex the personality disturbance.

(3) *About their disposal*. How obviously does a lad fit into an existing institution, either on general grounds with an absence of specific restraints (inadequates at Lowdham) or because of a clear ordering of training priorities in relation to restraints (motor mechanics at Hewell Grange for a young joy-rider in stolen cars)? What choices have to be made between conflicting needs? (Does a lad need his carpentry more than the intimate, supportive atmosphere of a small institution or regular visits from home?) What conflicts have to be resolved between needs and limiting factors? (Is the risk of a lad's absconding or his criminal sophistication too great to send him where V.T. in motor mechanics is available?)

(4) Finally, a decision might be regarded as easy because a lad seemed likely to adjust reasonably well to either of a pair of similar institutions, or difficult because one had to choose between alternative disposals, neither of which would fully meet the case. Here one would include cases which are regarded as more suitable for treatment other than Borstal as well as those who appear 'untrainable' by Borstal or any other methods.

FURTHER LIMITATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL APPROACH

The preceding section raises a source of difficulty implied in our general theoretical position but not so far recognised explicitly. Conflict may occur over the extent to which the needs of an individual may have to be sacrificed to those of other trainees as well as to the interests of society generally. Something of this is implied in the concept of 'contamination' or in the question of variations in the capacity of institutions to absorb 'difficult' commitments. The problem arises in its most acute form over the 'untrainables,' i.e. those cases (often institutionalised ones) which are so deeply disturbed psychologically or whose criminal behaviour is so persistent (or resistant to previous treatment) that they seem, from our experience of our present methods and their outcome, unlikely to be changed. The dilemma (which may be heavily charged with guilt for those facing it) arises of how far such cases, for the reasons just suggested, have to be 'written off' and how far they can be regarded as a challenge to the resources of the training system

itself. On the one hand they would be treated mainly on a 'holding' basis with the aim of reducing their interference with the training of other 'better prospects' and at the same time affording some temporary protection to society; on the other they would be regarded as a challenge to the training system itself, i.e. calling for intensified or entirely new approaches.

IMPROVEMENT OF CURRENT METHODS

What improvements are most required in our current methods? What kinds of approach are most likely to be productive? I would suggest the following main lines:—

(1) *Research*. It has always been my contention that no allocation system is complete without a built-in operational research procedure. Our present methods of rough and often personal follow-up are poor substitutes. This I should regard as the greatest defect of our current methods. Fully integrated routine research I would regard as essential not only for validation but in order to gather the basic facts that are necessary for the two kinds of improvement which I should most like to see.

(2) *Prediction*. Before going on to discuss these, prediction methods demand some comment. Recent claims (5) for the direct applicability of prediction findings to classification methods have been relatively modest. Reference to the problem of the 'untrainables' illustrates, in one way, how a crude form of prediction or prognosis is already embedded in the allocation decision process. This can either be regarded as a further 'check' or restraint imposed on allocation purely in terms of needs or as an 'aid', depending largely on how one solves the dilemma referred to above. The extent to which scientific prediction data in the form of scores or risk categories could be used as a further refinement of our criteria remains for me an open question which only further research could answer (6).

(3) *The Dynamics of the Training Process*. The classical doctrines of Borstal training have always placed a heavy emphasis on personal factors, on 'men and not buildings'. ('The Borstal system has no merit apart from the Borstal staff,' etc. (8)). The question remains of how these factors can best be manipulated in the interests of training. Recent developments in case work and 'community' methods suggest the need for a more refined and discriminating allocation approach to personal and social relationships as the fundamentals of the training process, a more accurate matching of lads and staff, a more sensitive locating of lads in inmate groups. (For a discussion of these questions in relation to staff techniques and training, see (7)).

(4) *Communication*. The above emphasis carries with it the need for more realistic methods of communication and reporting from Allocation Centres to the training Borsals. The problem, especially for psychologists, is how

far one can go, under the present mode of working (i.e. without direct personal experience and involvement in the training situation), in expressing findings in the form of hypotheses about future behaviour, in making predictions in operational terms of how a lad will react to this or that form of personal handling or to the social pressures of an institution.

So far we have found this extremely difficult to do at the allocation stage. Those institutions which have tackled the problem at the receiving end by setting up Reception Boards to translate allocation findings into concrete training plans have run into equal difficulties.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

One is tempted to escape from the 'here and now' problems to a complete reconsideration of allocation organisation and methods in relation to the training system as a whole. One is forced to consider the advantages of 'allocation' by successive stages, the crucial question being the point at which one should place one's most exhaustive and sensitive process of differentiation especially in terms of personality dynamics.⁷

To push this as far towards the training field as possible, even to the point of integrating it with reception in the training institution, would appear to be the elegant solution both from the point of view of reducing communication difficulties and that of making possible a more efficient manipulation of human relationships in training. This would suggest reducing our present allocation procedure to a rough sorting on a limited 'factual' or 'practical' basis, fuller 'psychological' investigation (and the erection of specific behavioural hypotheses) being left to Reception Boards in the training institutions.

One has only to set down such a possibility to be caught up in both practical and theoretical difficulties. On what reduced criteria should one base the rough sorting? How far will this involve unpredictable alterations

⁷ Mannheim and Spencer (4) have made use of a loose distinction between 'external and internal classification; the former meaning the sorting out of various categories of offenders with a view to allocating them to different types of institutions, the latter with a view to giving them differential treatment within the same institution.'

Classification can be regarded as a continuous process beginning with the Courts (or even earlier), there being a tendency at any one stage to anticipate or overflow into the next. Something of this happens when a Borstal sentence includes a recommendation for closed conditions or strict discipline and so on. From this point of view, Borstal allocation is merely a further stage in progressing towards a complete individualisation of treatment (2). Current allocation methods comprise both 'external' and 'internal' factors and so long as our training institutions are organised as at present (for example, in terms of training facilities) this is likely to remain so. The question discussed above can be expressed as how one balances external and internal factors in allocation before proceeding to the purely internal basis within the separate institutions.

in one's institutional 'homogeneities'? and so on. Expectations of sudden or drastic change in existing methods can be seen to be unrealistic on considerations of economics or supply. Where are the existing 'experts' (psychologists, social workers, etc.) to be located? What is involved in terms of additional specialists or improved training of existing field staff, e.g. in case work skills? One can only continue to seek meanwhile whatever improvements and compromise solutions seem possible within the limits of existing conditions.

The present position then can be summed up in these terms:— Current Borstal allocation methods are as sensitive and discriminating as are required or allowed by our present state of knowledge of exactly what happens in the training field. Improvements in allocation (or, indeed, any real awareness of how inefficient it may be) must await much greater knowledge, especially of the inter-personal dynamics of the training process. This is likely to be a slow process.

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TREATMENT OF THE ADOLESCENT OFFENDER¹

BY K. R. H. WARDROP (FALKIRK)

Treatment of the adolescent age group presents certain difficulties and problems of its own. There is first the difficulty of communication. The adolescent is past the stage at which he can express himself freely in play, but has not yet reached a stage at which he can express himself easily in words, nor can he intellectualize as fully as can the adult. The growing awareness of the developing sex feelings, with very probably the reawakening of earlier conflicts in that field, is disturbing to the average adolescent, tending to make him or her shy and withdrawn from adult contact. In addition to this withdrawal, there is very frequently a strong feeling of rebellion against the adults in the young person's immediate environment, and these two factors together make rapport with a psychiatrist difficult to establish. In trying to treat adolescents, therefore, a psychiatrist must be prepared initially for rather embarrassed and tongue-tied sessions, and must give considerably more help and encouragement than would be necessary or desirable in adult interviews. Once the initial difficulties have been overcome, however, the treatment of adolescents has certain advantages over treatment of both earlier and later age groups. The adolescent's hostility often arises from thwarting of his own need at that time to be considered an adult, and the undivided attention of a psychiatrist, who seems prepared to treat the adolescent as an individual in his own right, can usually obtain a ready response. Once a real response has been made and the adolescent has become quite secure in his relationship with the psychiatrist, his verbal expression of emotions is much simpler and more direct than is the adult's. He can express feeling as directly and easily as the child can, without the involved verbal and intellectual resistance that can be put up by the adult patient.

Another outstanding difficulty in the treatment of adolescents is that so often a very tense home situation is found to exist, and while this could possibly have been adjusted to a considerable extent earlier, it may now have gone too far for family case-work to help very much.

¹ Based on a Maudsley Bequest Lecture, February 1956.

One of the features in an adolescent disturbance often is a desire to get away from home, so that treatment which concentrates too much on the home situation, and too little on the adolescent's individual difficulties, may defeat its own object. It very often turns out to be impossible to help the young person much while he remains in that environment. Unfortunately, there is a great lack of facilities, such as hostel accommodation or even adequately supervised lodgings, which would permit an adolescent to leave home temporarily and, while keeping contact with the home, be enabled to achieve some measure of independence and at the same time continue having psychiatric treatment. As regards the more seriously disordered adolescent for whom hospital treatment is required, facilities are still woefully lacking. The in-patient children's units, whether attached to mental or pædiatric hospitals, mostly have an age limit of 12 years, while 16 is the generally accepted lowest age limit for entering the adult wards of mental hospitals. It is true that very disturbed young people under 16 can, with the approval of the Board of Control, be admitted to adult mental hospitals, but such an environment is not a suitable one and this is only adopted in very extreme cases as a last resort. Such units as do exist for the treatment of adolescents have, naturally, enormous demands made upon their accommodation, and many more treatment centres for patients of this age group are needed.

The foregoing comments on the treatment of adolescents generally apply equally, or perhaps still more forcibly, to the treatment of the delinquent adolescent. In an adolescent who has adopted a delinquent reaction there is already the barrier of the antisocial attitude between the adolescent and the psychiatrist, while on the adolescent's side there are often feelings of anxiety and guilt increasing his resistance, and making rapport still more difficult to establish than it normally is with other adolescents.

TREATING THE ADOLESCENT FIRST OFFENDER

The way in which the adolescent first offender is handled is of extreme importance, as regards his future social adjustment. The years 13 to 15 are a peak period for first offences, and all too often it seems that the wrong treatment given at this stage merely serves to intensify the antisocial reaction, and finally to produce a young recidivist.

There may be a little doubt as to what constitutes the first offender, whether it is one who is literally committing his first offence, or one who is making his first court appearance. This question can only be decided on the merits of the individual case. For example, a remark was made recently to the writer by an adolescent boy whom he had known off and on for four years. This boy stated that he had been very angry when, on his second

appearance in the juvenile court on charges of housebreaking, the magistrate called him a 'hardened young criminal'. 'What right,' said B., 'had he to call me that when it was only the second time I had been in court?' The writer reminded him that there had been a fair number of charges against him at the time, to which B. replied, 'Yes, forty-nine', but just the same he resented the term 'hardened young criminal', and the writer could but agree with him in this feeling. The antisocial behaviour in the case covered a very short period of time, when the lad was almost 14, and though it had certainly taken the form of this very intense outburst of offences, yet the lad essentially was as a first offender.

Case 1, B.K. This case is referred to more fully, as it does illustrate how such an adolescent first offender should *not* be treated. The boy, B., had suddenly when almost 14 begun housebreaking and stealing, and had been put on probation. The Probation Officer was of the opinion that B. was a disturbed personality, and referred him to a child psychiatric clinic. Investigations in the clinic showed not only a disturbed boy but a seriously disturbed family situation: a mother grossly unstable, on the verge of a breakdown and emotionally dependent on this boy; a father whose own emotional difficulties were considerable, whose attitude to this boy was a harsh and rejecting one; a younger brother between whom and the patient there was much hostility. Treatment in the clinic was started very diffidently, as it was felt that further disturbance was likely to arise, and that there was a great risk of continuing antisocial behaviour, while the other boy remained at home. The case-worker dealing with the family also felt that she had to go very warily in such a tense situation. Before even a therapeutic relationship could be established there was a further outburst of criminal activity, and B. was again taken to court, his total number of offences being now, as he said, forty-nine. It seemed that if he was to be treated successfully this boy would be better away from home, yet if sent to an approved school there was a great risk of his completely identifying with the more confirmed delinquent types he would meet there. The lack of facilities for adequate treatment of such a case at the time were made very apparent. Arrangements were made for B.'s admission to an adult neuroses unit, even although this did not seem to be an ideal solution to the problem, if the court would agree to such a course of action. The court, however, decided against this, and sent this 'hardened young criminal' to a senior approved school. It was not possible to keep up therapeutic contact with him there, and family case-work also had to be broken off for a variety of reasons. B.'s subsequent story was that he did, in fact, identify himself with the hard core of seriously antisocial types in the approved school, and followed their pattern of behaviour when released, so that he was recalled for a further period to the approved school. Following his second release from the school, he showed no intention of settling down and seemed to have absorbed completely the delinquent culture. For a further series of offences he was sent to Borstal.

The writer (who had been the person who first saw B. at the child psychiatric clinic) renewed his contact with B. at this stage. While finding him to be superficially friendly and apparently anxious to have treatment, and to come to a

better understanding of his problems, and readjustment, he was in fact almost inaccessible to treatment, his delinquent reaction having become such a powerful defence. B. is still in the Borstal Institution and continues to have psychotherapy, both in group and in individual sessions, but it cannot be claimed that a great deal of progress has been made, nor unfortunately has there been much opportunity of giving help to the family. Here then is the case of an intelligent young man, with severe emotional problems having led to an antisocial attitude, which is now going to be very difficult, if not impossible, to alter. One cannot help feeling that, if only more intensive treatment could somehow have been given earlier, the situation would at least not have been so bad as it now is.

Case 2, L.T. A more hopeful picture is presented by another adolescent first offender, at present being treated as an out-patient, who despite a fairly disturbed family situation appears to be responding. L. is now 16 and is still attending senior school. He has had two court appearances for minor offences, the first just over a year ago when he was put on probation, the second two months later, soon after he had started attending the clinic. Fortunately, for this second offence he was not sent to approved school but was merely admonished, remaining on probation but without an order to attend for treatment. His continued attendance was therefore voluntary. L. is a friendly, cheerful youngster, who was rather sheepishly brought along on the first occasion by a very possessive mother. He brightened visibly when taken into the consulting room, and the mother left to wait. At first this appeared to be a quite simple problem, of an adolescent rebelling against family standards which were very high. The mother was a very strict, rigid person, who made excessive demands on her family in the way of behaviour, and the difficult relationship between L. and herself had grown worse during the past year or two. This situation seemed to have been already handled well by the Probation Officer, who had been accepted both by the boy and his parents, and who had made some progress towards getting the latter to relax their standards somewhat and to accept L. as he was. The Probation Officer, however, felt that there was some more deep-rooted emotional difficulty in the relationship between L. and his mother. The therapist at first was not sure about this. He saw L. regularly though not at too frequent intervals, as the boy was still somewhat dubious about coming to a psychiatric clinic. He continued to be friendly, but the therapist felt that the relationship remained at a rather superficial level, and began to wonder whether in fact there was any really serious problem. The mother was unable to attend the clinic often, so was not having any contact with a psychiatric social worker. After some weeks, however, she came to see the therapist and told how she was 'letting him get away with next to murder'. Although she talked copiously on this theme, the therapist found it difficult to get any real instance of L.'s bad behaviour, and from the mother's talk it seemed that he was reacting like any other lad of his age. The mother seemed to get considerable relief from talking in this way, and in the end she could admit that there was some improvement in the boy, and also in the relationship between them; but it was during this interview that the therapist became aware how really important L.'s antisocial behaviour was to the mother, and that unconsciously she wanted him to continue with it.

Something that the therapist said to L. about this talk with the mother must have made him feel that the therapist really was on his side, because it was only then that he began to open out and talk freely. He talked very freely of his mother's treatment of him when he was younger, and recalled many instances of her constant thwarting, nagging, punishing, etc., and his own mounting hatred and resentment of her. The part played by the father in this case seemed to have been all along a secondary one, and it became more and more clear that the mother had unconsciously encouraged L.'s rebellion, thereby expressing indirectly her own rebellious feelings towards her parents, and at the same time having a convenient object for the projection of her own guilt about these feelings—literally a whipping boy. Having been able to express his negative feelings towards the mother, and have them accepted, L. became much less tense, and his desire for antisocial behaviour disappeared. Meanwhile valuable work was being done by the Probation Officer, who was visiting the home and seeing the mother frequently. The mother talked to him a lot about her own early life, and began to express her own early hostile feelings. The Probation Officer encouraged her to talk thus, but wisely refrained from any attempts at interpretation. When the mother next came to see the therapist she herself interpreted to him what had happened, and could understand how she had used L. to express her own feelings. (He was her second child, but her first son and, therefore, had been particularly important in this respect.) She spoke about how some of her own brothers had, in fact, broken away from the parents' domination and others had not, and she obviously wanted L. to be like the former group.

The writer has quoted this case as it illustrates certain important points in the treatment of the adolescent first offender. These points are: (1) The length of time that it took really to gain the confidence of an established therapeutic relationship with this lad. (2) The importance of the boy's behaviour to his mother. One feels that this situation of a mother who has herself been maladjusted as a girl, who could never express her own aggression, but unconsciously encourages such expression in her son, must be a fairly common one in mothers of delinquents. (3) Such a case can, in fact, be treated on an out-patient basis, continuing to live at home, even without intensive case-work being done with the family. (4) The importance of frequent communication and complete co-operation between the psychiatrist and the Probation Officer.

TREATMENT IN BORSTAL INSTITUTION

I now want to consider the treatment of the later age group of adolescent offenders in Borstal Institutions. The average age here is between 17 and 18, and very few of this group are first offenders.

Over three years ago the first appointment was made of a psychiatrist to work full-time—or nearly full-time—in the Borstal Service throughout Scotland. The psychiatrist appointed continues to be employed by a

Regional Hospital Board and, in fact, is on the staff of a teaching hospital, but is seconded for most of his time to the Scottish Home Department for this particular work. It was intended that the work should partly consist of psychiatric assessment of entrants to Borstal, but that perhaps the major part of the work should be to explore the need for psychiatric treatment of Borstal inmates, and the possibilities for carrying out such treatment within a penal institution.

The results of the initial assessment indicate that between 35 and 40 per cent. of entrants to Borstal present psychiatric problems. It is, of course, a very difficult decision to make as to what constitutes a 'psychiatric case', and this figure should only be taken as very arbitrary. It is, however, sufficient to indicate that a fair proportion of these adolescent delinquents at least warrant further psychiatric investigation, and in some cases psychiatric treatment. These psychiatric cases include, firstly, the small group of those who show a recognizable psychiatric syndrome, *i.e.* psychosis, neurosis, or mental defect, and secondly, the more numerous group of border-line cases which cannot be put into one of the diagnostic categories, but who show a severe enough maladjustment to be called disturbed personalities.

It is with the treatment needs of the latter group that this paper is most concerned, treatment of the more clear-cut cases being comparatively simple. For example, the intellectually backward group go to a particular Borstal Institution, where the environment and the whole regime is as simple and undemanding as possible. The psychiatrist visits this institution regularly, seeing quite a number of inmates, but such psychotherapy as is carried out is of a very simple, supportive kind. The psychotic cases can be removed to mental hospital for appropriate treatment, while those with straightforward neurotic symptoms can often be treated by psychotherapy without much disturbance of the routine Borstal training. An example of this latter type of case was one in which the delinquency was the major symptom of a neurotic reaction arising out of sibling jealousy, and being brought to a head by the accidental death by burning of the younger sibling. This had been followed by an excessive guilt reaction with frequent running away from home, and stealing, as a secondary result. This case responded well to psychotherapy, which included narco-analysis and abreaction of the traumatic incidents, while treatment did not involve any particular difficulties in relation to the institution environment.

The real problem is to find an adequate method of treatment for those very difficult border-line cases, the antisocial characters, personality disorders or psychopaths. Before proceeding further on this theme the writer would like to quote in some detail one or two selected cases, which indicate the course that treatment is likely to follow and the situations likely to arise.

Case 3, E. S. E. S. was one of the first cases that the writer started treating in Borstal. He had recently been readmitted on his second Borstal sentence, and treatment was started partly on the suggestion of a P.S.W. who had been interested in the case during his first sentence (early in which he had absconded from an open institution), and partly at the lad's own request. He came from one of the larger industrial burghs in Scotland, was illegitimate and had been brought up by the maternal grandmother, being tagged on to the end of her family, knowing her as mother, and his own mother, aunts and uncles as sisters and brothers. The maternal grandmother was an hysteric who had tried to dominate the whole family, especially this boy, and who had handled him with the utmost inconsistency when a small boy. He had early on suspected his status in the family, and finally learnt the true state of affairs during the course of a family row. After this he felt unwanted, began staying away from home, getting into trouble, was finally sent to an approved school, absconded frequently from there, and graduated through senior approved school to Borstal. Intensive psychotherapy along analytical lines was started here and followed an interesting and turbulent course. He was an intelligent lad and very co-operative. After the first few sessions of giving detailed history, the first feelings of hostility towards the maternal grandmother began to come to the surface; he went into a phase of strongly negative transference to the therapist, continued to have sessions, but used them to express great hostility towards the latter. This phase gradually passed, and he from then on remained in a positive relationship with the therapist. He could recall early years with the maternal grandmother, her shocking treatment of him, and his own hatred of her. As he went further back, and early feelings of parental rejection came up, he became acutely disturbed and physical symptoms developed—headache, lassitude, etc. He was really quite unfit to work, but the general attitude taken towards him was that he was just a lazy young man. Finally, on the excuse of a mild chill, he was removed from his House to the small sick bay (a place not intended for the treatment of such cases, but used as a temporary refuge) and there he remained for two months or more, having daily psychotherapy sessions and remaining very disturbed—but being considered by most of the discipline staff to have successfully pulled the wool over the eyes of the naïve psychiatrist, while the other boys too were of the opinion that E. was 'working a dodge'. During this very disturbed phase his early antisocial reactions were coming to the surface, and strong hostility was being expressed towards the authority of the Borstal institution, especially towards the Governor as the supreme authority. This phase—as difficult for therapist as for patient—was gradually passed through, E. meanwhile becoming still more disturbed as very early phantasies regarding his parents were uncovered. His hatred towards mother was intense and, while he had never known his real father, there had been two phantasy fathers, the good ideal father-figure and the bad rejecting father.

E. suddenly developed a strongly aggressive attitude towards his own Housemaster, and an excessively strong positive and dependent feeling towards the therapist, and it seemed that he was 'acting out' this father phantasy—Housemaster playing the rôle of 'bad father', therapist the good. Fortunately, the Housemaster was able to understand all this and to accept E.'s aggression, and several 'three-cornered' sessions were held in which this situation was played out with E. and interpreted. It seemed that this small piece of psychodrama had a

most therapeutic effect. E. began to improve, was able to be returned to his House and continue with his Borstal training. This period had its own difficulties—the hostile attitude of other boys to E. being one of them—but he gradually managed to readjust himself, after a short spell of hysterical ‘escape’ symptoms, and was accepted by staff and boys. His whole personality seemed to have changed—he was mature in his outlook, accepted the family situation as it was, had no antisocial urges, and prior to his liberation seemed a very normal, well-adjusted young man.

Unfortunately this happy state of affairs has not lasted. E. was accepted for the R.A.F.; for the first few months all appeared to go well, but then he lost touch with us, and about a year later it was heard that he had been in further trouble.

This early case illustrated several points in treatment of this kind, within a penal institution; some of them had been anticipated, but their full nature could only be appreciated after actual experience. Firstly, the difficulties created by acting out behaviour, in a regime which is necessarily an authoritarian one, as opposed to the permissive and accepting therapeutic approach. These difficulties indicated how important it is to try to have the staff with the therapist, or at least conversant with what is being done. This leads on to the more positive point that this rather special environmental situation could be actively made use of to help in therapy; for example, the choice of the Housemaster as the object of negative feeling towards the bad father-figure and the acting out of this feeling. To a lesser extent, too, the difficult social readjustment to the Borstal House environment, and the gradual coming to terms with that environment, was a sort of trial run for social adjustment to a larger group outside. Secondly, the lack of adequate facilities for dealing with a case disturbed while undergoing therapy was apparent. Simply to remove the lad from his House environment is merely increasing his already formed escape reaction, but in this case there was no other alternative. Thirdly, the time for treatment and rehabilitation was obviously not long enough, and the break with the therapist and others that occurred when the boy left the institution was too complete and too sudden. There was a lack of any provision for follow-up, or for further treatment if necessary. It has, in fact, been noted in several such cases that their new-found stability and readjustment last for a while outside, but when stress arises they are likely to resort to their former antisocial reaction. (Just as, for example, a stammer or similar symptom, which has been successfully treated, may recur as a reaction to stress.) When this occurs a sense of guilt prevents the individual from getting in touch with the former therapist or re-educator, while it is just at such times that they could probably be given help by someone already familiar with the case.

A lad somewhat similar to E., who had responded well also, was accepted for service in the R.A.F. and trained in the photography branch. During his first year in the service he wrote twice to the therapist when on the brink of getting into trouble, and again more recently when feeling unsettled and aggressive. The therapist gave him what reassurance and help was possible by letter, and even this very simple procedure seems to have been enough to tide the lad over his difficulty and to prevent a further delinquent breakdown.

Case 4, W. R. This lad came into Borstal on his second court appearance, both charges having been for car theft. The therapist had already heard something about the case from the family doctor, who had been aware for many years that W. had been a problem child. There was a history of numerous disturbances in childhood, and in the adolescent years W. had become more unsettled, finally refusing to work and trying to get away from home. This latter was the real reason for his theft of cars. The home was, materially, a good one, but there seemed to be something far wrong in the relationship between W. and the parents. The father had a good position and had been very puzzled by W.'s behaviour, and was trying to understand his own part therein. He had himself had a very strict upbringing, and had often wanted to behave in the way that W. was now doing. He had tried to discipline W. but was obviously conflicted in his own attitude to authority. There had, however, been a warm relationship between father and son during the early years. The relationship between W. and the mother, however, was more of a unknown quantity, and it turned out later that there had, in fact, been a great deal of unconscious rejection on her part. She had had a stillborn girl and, though not very keen on having children at all, she would have preferred a girl and was, therefore, disappointed when her second pregnancy, during which she had been ill most of the time, terminated with the birth of a boy. Labour was difficult and prolonged and there was a resultant minor deformity of the arms. The mother had afterwards been ill for six months, so that W. had been looked after by a series of different relatives or friends, without any consistent relationship. After this the mother took charge of him, but could never show much feeling and the two of them never managed to establish a satisfactory relationship. During W.'s childhood the parental rôles were almost reversed, the father being the more affectionate and permissive parent and the mother the more aloof and strained.

The signs of disturbance which were numerous in W.'s early years gradually settled during the latency period, but further difficulties arose in adolescence, culminating in his delinquency. W. at first seemed anxious to co-operate with the psychiatrist, and in early interviews he talked quite freely, dwelling largely on the difficulties that had arisen between himself and his parents during the past year or two. However, he seemed to show very little feeling, and this, taken along with the long history of disturbed behaviour, seemed to indicate a psychopathic personality. After a few weeks W. became withdrawn and finally inaccessible to psychiatric investigation, and intensive treatment was discontinued. It did seem, however, that a fairly strict regime might be the best means of helping him. At

first it appeared that he was responding to this, but after a few months he suddenly absconded and on making inquiries then the psychiatrist realized that no one had, in fact, made any real contact with the lad.

After some weeks he was caught and returned to the institution on a second period of Borstal training, having by now a series of stolen cars to his credit. On being interviewed by the psychiatrist at this stage W. was found to be much more accessible and now seemed to want help. Much tension had apparently been released by his outbursts of delinquent activity, but feelings of guilt were also strong. Treatment of an intensive nature was started and continued uninterrupted for several months. During this time all the complications of his parental relationships were uncovered; in brief these were (a) fondness but lack of respect for, or guidance from, the father, and (b) complete lack of positive feeling to or from the mother. Very disturbing early memories were coming back, of trying to get warmth of feeling from the mother and failing to do so, and the development of negative feelings towards her.

Meanwhile, the therapist noticed a very important development, viz. that W. was beginning to build up a really good relationship with the officer in charge of the party in which he worked. This man had great ability in gaining the confidence of the boys, and was particularly interested in W., often talking to the therapist about him. It seemed that therapy had at this stage released his capacity for feeling, and he had formed a real human relationship, perhaps the first of his life. This did not interfere with his relationship with the therapist, but if anything enhanced it; in fact, things were made easier for the therapist, in that the officer became the parent-figure and the object on which displaced emotion was directed, the therapist playing more the rôle of interpreter. All of this was very disturbing to W. and he was in a most unsettled state, at times expressing strongly antisocial ideas. The climax came when the officer was promoted and transferred to another institution, and W. again absconded. This time he took two others with him and they stole a van, but were arrested a day or two later. For this offence W. was given a short prison sentence and then returned to Borstal, where the question of his further disposal was discussed. It seemed likely that, with this record of two abscondings and several thefts, he would be sent to the closed institution, and his own feeling was that he certainly should be sent there. The therapist, however, made the suggestion that W. should go to the open Borstal where the aforementioned officer was now working, and this suggestion was accepted. The therapist felt that to continue this relationship would now be of more value than further intensive treatment, and for a while things seemed to go very well.

Meanwhile there was a noticeable change in the parental, and particularly the mother's, attitude. The psychiatric social worker had been visiting the family regularly while W. was being treated and, though at first feeling that the father was the one likely to respond, she later found the mother able to talk about her own difficulties, with resultant release of a very much warmer feeling for W. She was now visiting him regularly and W. was beginning to feel more warmly towards her. It seemed now essential for him to test out these new-found relationships. There were one or two episodes of theft from the store of which this particular officer was in charge, and later W. absconded from camp, this officer again being in charge. He was only away for a night and half a day, did not steal anything, and in fact gave himself up, and it seemed to the therapist that

the logical thing was for W. to be left where he was to continue the progress he was making. Official attitude, however (understandably enough), was that W. had had his chance, and must now go to the closed institution. A compromise was finally agreed upon whereby he would go there for two months, then return to the open institution. Unfortunately, by the time he did go back there things had changed and, although he was still very much accepted by the same officer, in other ways he felt rejected by the environment as a whole, and after a short time again absconded, this time stealing two cars. The important thing, however, was that on this occasion for the first time he went home. It seemed as though he was now ready to test out his mother's acceptance of him, and she did in fact respond well.

For these offences W. was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and thereafter went to finish his Borstal training at the closed institution. The therapist was able to see him throughout the prison sentence and again in the Borstal Institution, and at first found W. to be quite withdrawn and apparently to exhibit no feelings of guilt, nor any depth of feeling towards his parents, the therapist, or anyone else. As time went on, however, the therapist learnt from W. that in fact these very feelings had been so strong that he could not admit them to anyone, not even to himself. Throughout the end of his Borstal training W. was seen more frequently by the therapist and found to be in an interesting state of mind, with much insight into his long-standing maladjustment. He was fully aware of the satisfaction that antisocial behaviour gave him and knew that it still attracted him, while at the same time he felt differently towards his parents and towards society in general, and had a genuine desire to settle down and become socialized. He compared himself to an alcoholic at a similar stage of treatment, having to decide whether or not to forego the immediate satisfaction of his addiction for the later one of social adaptation. The parents' continued attitude of acceptance to him had much to do with his eventual decision to try to settle down. He went home some months ago fully aware of the difficulties he was facing and, despite several ups and downs, seems to be making good progress. The therapist, who still sees him at intervals, does not regard the readjustment process as by any means complete but, while he feels that there may yet be behaviour disorders, the ultimate outlook is moderately hopeful. There is certainly no doubt that W. is a much better adjusted young man than he was previously, and that the family unit as a whole is a much more healthy and normal one.

This case again illustrates the difficulties likely to arise from 'acting out activity', here involving further conflict with the law outside, and also the 'testing out' behaviour that has to be looked for when new relationships are being established. There were two important features in this case, however. Firstly, the value of family case-work. It is unlikely that W. would have responded as well as he did unless someone had been able to help the parents to modify their attitude to him. The timing here was important too. This family had previously been advised to seek psychiatric help, but were unwilling to do so—only now did it seem that they were ready to respond, and the ease with which they did so indicated that the time was

ripe. W. also was only able to respond after his first absconding and antisocial outburst; quite often some incident like this is required to give the psychiatrist an opening into a case. Secondly, the importance of the relationship W. formed with a member of the staff. Again it is unlikely that W. would have responded to psychotherapy alone without such a relationship in which to act out feelings and test his security and acceptance. In this respect W.'s case represents a transition between the earlier form of treatment as exemplified by E. and the therapeutic procedure aimed at now, which is to encourage and to utilize acting out behaviour, the staff being helped to understand this and to play their own part in it—aiming in fact at a kind of social community therapy (based on psychiatric insight) rather than much individual psychotherapy.

There is undoubtedly a place for individual treatment, but the number of cases that can be so treated is necessarily very limited. It is time-consuming work, involves considerable strain on a therapist, and one psychiatrist could not possibly treat in this way all the cases requiring it. However, during the past three years over seventy cases have had some form of psychotherapy. Mostly this was superficial and brief therapy, with a small number of supportive and explanatory interviews. Only about a third of that figure have had more intensive treatment. The pattern has been slightly different in each case treated intensively, but the two examples given are fairly typical of the kind of things that may happen. As regards results, these are more difficult to estimate. Some have obviously not responded at all; this group is in itself an interesting one warranting further investigation. Others appear to respond, but later relapse, while about half do appear to have made a favourable response, at least in the way of not getting into trouble again. The problem, however, is to adopt measures whereby many more adolescent delinquents can be helped. Group therapy is, of course, one way of doing this. Recently the writer has spent most of his time working with groups and only a little doing individual work. Group work, one finds, is tending in a direction away from the analytical and consists more of intellectual discussion of behaviour patterns. Acting out behaviour which occurs in the institution or in the group is studied by the group and, if possible, interpreted against the background of individual problems. Such group work is in most instances proving to be helpful and a useful adjunct to social therapy.

This form of treatment is also being used with groups of girl Borstal inmates. Most of the delinquent adolescent girls are seriously disturbed personalities with severe problems, but intensive individual treatment has not, for a variety of reasons, been attempted. Group therapy, however, recently introduced has been found helpful.

There are only a small number of girls in Borstal in Scotland—all in one institution. The boys, however, have an allocation system, by which they either go into one of the three training houses, at the largest Borstal, or go to one of the smaller outlying institutions. At first the psychiatrist tried treating lads in each House of the main institution, but found this not very successful, and now psychiatric treatment is confined almost entirely to inmates of one particular House. The allocation system in any case is such that most of the psychiatric problem cases—certainly those who are considered treatable—go to this House. All boys having group therapy are members of this House, and a recent development is group meetings of the entire House staff, along with the psychiatrist and P.S.W's. In these meetings, new cases coming into the House are discussed, psychiatric and P.S.W.'s reports are given and there is a discussion on the case, the pattern the boy is likely to follow, and a plan for treatment is worked out. Lads already undergoing treatment are also discussed, particularly where any unusual behaviour has occurred, and attempts to understand this behaviour are made. More general discussion usually follows in which the staff's own attitudes come out, and the importance of these in their handling of the boys is gradually recognized. In this way the staff are being encouraged to play an active part in treatment.

The trend appears to be the gradual formation of an actual treatment unit within the Borstal system. In such a unit there is better scope for individual therapy but also, by the increasing use of group therapy and, still more important, social or community therapy based on psychiatric insight—with the staff playing an ever-increasing rôle in treatment—many more disturbed cases can be helped. The lack of facilities for treatment of disturbed or delinquent adolescents has already been commented on; it undoubtedly exists and will exist for some time to come. We must, therefore, try to adapt and make the best possible use of those that do exist, viz. the penal and corrective institutions. This paper describes one attempt at doing so.

EDITORIAL NOTICE

The Editors regret that, for reasons of space, they are obliged to postpone until a subsequent number full comments on the Report of the *Royal Commission on Mental Illness and Mental Deficiency* and on the *Report of the Wolfenden Committee*.

MAGISTERIAL POLICY IN THE LONDON JUVENILE COURTS. PART II.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, p. 33)

BY HERMANN MANNHEIM, JOHN SPENCER and
GEORGE LYNCH (LONDON)

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In the first part of this paper we discussed the comparison of the different social class groups of the court samples and of the districts covered by the six courts. It will be remembered that the majority of individuals appeared to offend in the districts where they lived and that the court samples were excessively weighted by those in the lowest social classes.

In this section we concern ourselves with more detailed sociological data related to the individual cases included in the sample. First, however, some administrative information for the year 1951-52 will be given, relating to the total number of cases, the total number of larcenies, and the number of larcenies dealt with by the courts included in the study. The total number of cases appearing before the London juvenile courts for all offences, ages, and both sexes during the year 1951-52 was as follows:

TABLE IX
Total Numbers of Cases 1951-52

<i>Court</i>	<i>Number of Cases</i>	<i>%</i>
Chelsea . . .	559	11
Friends' House . . .	819	16
Lambeth . . .	1,214	23
S.E. London . . .	837	16
Stamford House . . .	960	19
Toynbee Hall . . .	785	15
Total . . .	5,174	100

Included in the offences were the following cases of larcenies by males in the 14-16 age group:

TABLE X
Males 14-16 Years of Age—Larcenies Only 1951-52

<i>Court</i>	<i>No. of Cases</i>	<i>% of Total Court Cases</i>
Chelsea . . .	81	8
Friends' House . . .	126	13
Lambeth . . .	268	27
S.E. London . . .	195	20
Stamford House . . .	193	20
Toynbee Hall . . .	116	12
Total . . .	979	100

Of these cases, the courts included in our study dealt with the following number of larcenies carried out by male young persons:

TABLE XI
Larcenies by Males 14-16 Years of Age in Sampled Courts

<i>Court No.</i>	<i>No. of Cases</i>	<i>% of Total for all 8 Courts</i>
1 }	55	7
8 }	116	14
2 }	78	9
5 }	195	23
6 }	79	9
7 }	55	7
3	181	21
4	87	10
Total .	846	100

These proportions do not necessarily reflect the ratios of these particular offences to other types of offence which appeared in the courts. Some courts sat throughout the year and dealt with the great majority of all cases while others sat for shorter periods.⁹ These tables shed no light on the relationship between the nature of the court samples and the treatment policies employed.

⁹ Although there was a court sitting each week in each of the court houses throughout the year, some of these courts (as defined in footnote 6 of Part I) in fact sat more often than others over the whole period.

The frequencies of the different types of larcenies were fairly evenly distributed over the eight courts as follows: 1 = simple larceny; 2 = larceny of fixtures; 3 = the remainder (larceny from the person, by a servant, in a dwelling house, etc.).

TABLE XII
Type of Offence

<i>Court No.</i>	<i>Simple Larceny</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Larceny of Fixtures</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Remainder</i>	<i>%</i>
1 }	38	76	2	4	10	20
8 }	33	66	11	22	6	12
2 }	35	70	9	18	6	12
5 }	39	78	6	12	5	10
6 }	34	68	8	16	8	16
7 }	36	72	8	16	6	12
3	27	54	14	28	9	18
4	31	62	17	34	2	4
All	273	68	75	19	52	13
Total = 400 cases						

The majority of cases fall into the first category of simple larceny. Here, the proportions of these cases to each court show little variation except, perhaps, those relating to Nos. 3 and 4. These two also have substantially higher proportions in category 2 (larceny of fixtures). It will be remembered, however, that while they are alike in this respect, they are unrelated to any other court or to each other in the pattern based on sentencing policies. There are also noticeable differences in column 2 between Courts 1 and 8 which were in fact associated in the sentencing pattern.

'Pleas', the 'numbers of previous court appearances' and 'lone or associated activities' of the offenders in the sample population were also examined for the purpose of establishing any relationship between these features and the general pattern of the disposals. The results were negative.

Before proceeding to the analyses of social conditions, we should point out that the percentages shown in the following tables are related to all the cases and not to the amount of information available which is never complete throughout any of the tables. The family structures of the individual cases appearing before each of the eight courts were analysed under the following headings:

TABLE XIII—*Family Structure*

<i>Court No.</i>	<i>Living with both Parents</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Living with only One Parent</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Living with Parent and Step-Parent</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Living with other than Parent</i>	<i>%</i>
1 }	33	66	11	22	3	6	3	6
8 }	32	64	7	14	6	12	3	6
2 }	32	64	8	16	4	8	3	6
5 }	34	68	6	12	6	12	4	8
6 }	30	60	9	18	5	10	5	10
7 }	27	54	10	20	6	12	5	10
3 }	34	68	6	12	3	6	2	4
4	33	66	8	16	2	4	6	12
ALL	255	64	65	14	35	9	31	8

Approximately two-thirds of the cases came from homes with both parents living together. Apart from No. 7, there are no significant variations in the sample. Nos. 6 and 7 (associated in their methods of disposal) have relatively high proportions of cases having only one parent. However, the small numbers in this category hardly allow any interpretation of significance in this. No. 1 also has a relatively high percentage of cases with only one parent but the same qualification holds good. Further, No. 8 (associated with No. 1) does not deviate from the average in this respect.

Considering another aspect of the family as a unit, the sizes of families from which the offenders came were analysed as follows:

TABLE XIV—*Family Size*

<i>Court No.</i>	<i>Families of up to Four Siblings</i>		<i>Families of more than Four Siblings</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
1 }	34	68	12	24
8 }	39	78	9	18
2 }	31	62	14	28
5 }	37	74	13	26
6 }	41	82	8	16
7 }	36	72	9	18
3 }	31	62	15	30
4	38	76	12	24
ALL	287	72	92	23

Nos. 2 and 3 appear to have lower proportions of those coming from relatively small families whilst No. 6 has an excess of such boys. Nos. 2 and 3 also exceed the average for the larger families, while 6, 7 and 8 are below it. There is a similarity between Nos. 2 and 3 in both categories, but they are unrelated in the 'disposals' pattern. Nos. 6 and 7 are associated in the pattern and in the category of larger families where the smaller number of cases are found. However, they are unrelated in the category of small families where most of the individuals are placed.

Those who came from families in which one or more members had criminal records were brought together as follows:

TABLE XV
Family Criminal Record

Court No.	Evidence of Family Criminal Record	
	No.	%
1	8	16
8	10	20
2 }	13	26
5 }	15	30
6 }	10	20
7 }	6	12
3 }	9	18
4 }	11	22
ALL	82	20

Nos. 2 and 5 exceed the average and are associated in the pattern of sentencing policies. However, we again point out that these variations are based on small numbers. No. 7, where 50 cases appeared to include the smallest number of those whose families had criminal records, was associated with No. 6, conforming to the average.

The social status of the household was analysed through the type of work performed by the head of the household, who was generally the father. The analysis was based on the following breakdown:

TABLE XVI—*Comparison of Social Status*

Court No.	Professional or Managerial		Supervisory or Clerical		Skilled and Semi-Skilled Work		Unskilled	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 }	3	6	4	8	15	30	16	32
8 }	1	2	2	4	9	18	26	52
2 }	3	6	2	4	15	30	18	36
5 }	—	—	3	6	12	24	26	52
6 }	—	—	7	14	19	38	15	30
7 }	1	2	4	8	13	26	21	42
3 }	2	4	5	10	10	20	18	36
4 }	—	—	4	8	18	36	15	30
ALL	10	2	31	8	111	28	155	39

Nos. 4 and 6 have higher proportions of skilled and semi-skilled workers related to their individual cases. However, they are unrelated in their methods of disposal. No. 7, with which No. 6 is associated, is about the average. No. 8 has a lower proportion of this category but No. 1, with which No. 8 is associated, is about the average. Both Nos. 5 and 8 have proportions of unskilled workers well above the average but their associated Nos. 2 and 1 respectively tend to be below the average. Nos. 4 and 6 have proportionately fewer 'heads of households' in this category, while No. 7, identified with No. 6, is slightly in excess of the average.

The occupations of mothers were also examined:

TABLE XVII—*Comparison of Proportion of Working Mothers*

Court No.	Full-time Work		Part-time Work		Home Duties	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 }	7	14	15	30	21	42
8 }	11	22	13	26	23	46
2 }	9	18	12	24	19	38
5 }	8	16	16	32	23	46
6 }	11	22	16	32	18	36
7 }	13	26	18	36	15	30
3 }	3	6	13	26	26	52
4 }	10	20	17	34	18	36
ALL	72	18	120	30	163	41

No. 3 is well below the average for mothers in full-time work, and is also below the average for part-time work, but noticeably above the average for mothers engaged in the home. No. 7 is above both averages for mothers at work and well below for those performing home duties. The associated No. 6 is about the average throughout.

Another question of interest was one concerned with the presence of the father in the home. Thus, those who worked peculiar hours on shift work or whose work kept them from home for periods whilst travelling, etc., were collected together in the following table:

TABLE XVIII
Comparison of Fathers' Working Conditions

Court No.	<i>Father Working Shifts or Travelling Away from Home</i>		<i>Not known</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
1 }	8	16	16
8 }	5	10	14
2 }	10	20	20
5 }	9	18	6
6 }	3	6	6
7 }	10	20	14
3	3	6	32
4	6	12	12
ALL	54	13	16

Inadequate information may account for the low proportions applicable to No. 3, but the additional information related to No. 6 suggests here that the number of fathers who spent irregular or peculiar periods in the home was below the average. Conversely, No. 6 is above the average for fathers keeping normal hours in the home and No. 7 is below the average. No. 2 is below the average for those fathers spending normal hours away from their occupations, whereas the associated No. 5 is above the average.

Actual conditions inside the homes were assessed on the judgments of probation and children's officers, and placed into the following categories:

TABLE XIX
Comparison of Home Conditions from Reports

Court No.	Very Poor		Poor		Comfortable		Well-to-do	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 } 8 } 2 } 5 } 6 } 7 } 3 } 4 }	— 1 1 2 1 4 5 5	— 2 2 4 2 8 10 10	17 18 18 14 18 16 11 16	34 36 36 28 36 32 22 32	26 26 23 31 27 28 28 25	52 52 46 62 54 56 56 50	2 — 1 — — 2 1 1	4 — 2 — — 4 2 2
ALL	19	5	128	32	214	53	7	2

No. 3 was below the average for 'poor' homes but in excess for 'very poor' homes. No. 2 was below the average for 'comfortable' homes, whereas the associated No. 5 was in excess for 'comfortable' homes.

The 'numbers of rooms per person' was used as an index of 'numbers in household', 'overcrowding', etc., and the following definition was used: less than one room per person = overcrowded; one or more rooms per person = not overcrowded.

TABLE XX
Comparison on Basis of Overcrowding Index

Court No.	Overcrowded		Not Overcrowded	
	No.	%	No.	%
1 } 8 } 2 } 5 } 6 } 7 } 3 } 4 }	23 24 27 25 23 31 22 25	46 48 54 50 46 62 44 50	23 22 14 20 22 15 22 20	46 44 28 40 44 30 44 40
ALL	200	50	160	40

No. 7 exceeds the average for those cases coming from homes with less than one room whilst the associated No. 6 is about the average. No. 2 is below average for one or more rooms per person but the associated No. 5 is about average.

Constructive leisure pursuits followed by individuals appearing before the courts were also considered:

TABLE XXI

Comparison on Basis of Evidence of Constructive Leisure Pursuits

Court No.	Constructive Leisure Pursuits	
	No.	%
1 }	28	56
8 }	32	64
2 }	23	46
5 }	29	58
6 }	28	56
7 }	29	58
3	19	38
4	29	58
ALL	217	54

No. 3 is well below the average and No. 8 is in excess of the average. No. 1 (associated with No. 8) is about the average.

SUMMARY OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

In this section we have attempted to see whether we could discover consistency in the sentencing policy of the courts through a study of sociological factors. That we have been unable to find evidence of consistency through an analysis of this kind is shown by the following summary.

Paired Courts Nos. 1 and 8. No. 1 had a low proportion of larceny of fixtures, whereas No. 8 had a high proportion of those cases.

No. 1 included proportions above the average of individuals from homes where the 'heads of households' were skilled workers and proportions below the average of unskilled workers. No. 8 reflected precisely the opposite experience. No. 8 was below the average for large families and above the average for individuals following constructive leisure activities, whereas No. 1 was about the average in both cases.

Paired Courts Nos. 2 and 5. No. 2 had low proportions coming from small families and was above average for those from large families, whereas No. 5 was about the average in these respects. Both were above average for those individuals coming from families with criminal records, but the numbers involved in this table were very small. No. 2 had a less than average proportion of unskilled workers as 'heads of households', while No. 5 was in excess of the average. No. 2 had fewer than average cases whose fathers worked normal hours, whereas No. 5 was above the average in this respect. No. 2 had fewer than average cases from comfortable homes and No. 5 exceeded the average. No. 2 was below the average for those from homes with one or more rooms per person; No. 5 was slightly above the average.

Paired Courts Nos. 6 and 7. Both had relatively high proportions of cases having only one parent, but the numbers in this category were small. Both were below the average for individuals coming from large families. No. 6 was about the average for cases from families with criminal records; No. 7 was below average. No. 6 had a high proportion of skilled workers as 'heads of households'; No. 7 was about the average. No. 6 was near to the average for mothers at work and those who stayed at home, whereas No. 7 was above the average for those who were primarily concerned with home duties. No. 6 had fewer than average fathers on shift work; No. 7 was above the average in this respect. No. 6 was about average for those coming from homes sharing less than one room per person, and No. 7 was above the average.

No. 3 (isolated). The following variations from the general sample were noted in these cases: (1) A high proportion of larceny of fixtures. (2) A low proportion from small families. (3) A high proportion from large families. (4) Fewer than average mothers were at work. (5) More than the average stayed at home. (6) Less than the average of fathers worked on shifts. (7) The proportion of those cases engaged in constructive leisure activities was well below average.

No. 4 (isolated). A high proportion of larceny of fixtures and a more than average proportion of skilled and semi-skilled 'heads of households' were noted.

CONDITIONAL DISCHARGE

Approximately one-third of the court orders applied to the 400 cases consisted of various forms of discharges. Absolute and conditional discharges applied by the different Courts are seen in the following table:

TABLE XXII

Proportion of Discharges

Court No.	Absolute Discharge		Conditional Discharge		Total Discharges	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 }	1	2	15	30	16	32
8 }	2	4	9	18	11	22
2 }	3	6	7	14	10	20
5 }	10	20	1	2	11	22
6 }	11	22	11	22	22	44
7 }	5	10	19	38	24	48
3 }	1	2	19	38	20	40
4 }	3	6	6	12	9	18
ALL	36	9	87	22	123	31

One-third of the absolute discharges and a little more than 40 per cent. of the conditional discharges included orders for costs or compensation. There was one case of absolute discharge and four cases of conditional discharge which included the binding over of the parents.

The use of absolute discharge by the court indicates that no further steps are thought necessary after the actual finding of guilt. In the words of F. T. Giles, it amounts to: 'Don't do it again'. Conditional discharge involves the offender in the liability to be dealt with for the original offence if he commits a further offence within the following twelve months. In terms of leniency of treatment it may be said to occupy an intermediate position between absolute discharge and probation. Thus we may assume that this form of court order is applied to those cases where an additional sanction is thought necessary over and above the court appearance itself and the actual finding of guilt.

An examination of the types of offence committed by those individuals who were conditionally discharged showed no significant deviation from the normal distribution applicable to the remaining cases in the sample, *i.e.* these were mainly simple larcenies and larcenies of fixtures. We considered also the relationships between these particular offenders and their victims. Perhaps conditional discharge was reserved often for cases where the victims tended not to be close relations or friends. However, with the exception of No. 8, no difference appeared under this heading. In No. 8, however, no case was conditionally discharged where the offender knew the victim from whom he had taken the article.

Attention was given to the actual value of the article or money stolen. Again, with the exception of No. 8, no significant deviation was found from the overall distribution of values in the complete sample. Apart from No. 8, which did not apply conditional discharge to any case involving a larceny of more than £10 in value, the remaining courts applied this order to larcenies of from 10s. to £50 in the narrowest range of values at a particular court, up to 10s. to £200 in the widest range.

Turning to aspects of family structure, column 1 in the following table shows, for the whole of our sample, the percentages of boys living with one parent or both or in other circumstances; and column 2 gives the same analysis in terms of boys conditionally discharged.

TABLE XXIII
Comparison of Conditional Discharges by Family State

<i>Family State</i>	<i>All Cases</i>		<i>Conditional Discharges</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Living with both parents . . .	225	64	60	66
Living with one parent . . .	65	16	10	11
Living with parent and step-parent . . .	35	9	7	8
Living with other than parents	31	8	7	8

It is clear from this comparison between conditional discharges and the remainder of the sample that there is little difference as regards variations in the state of the family.

Descriptions of the material conditions of the homes were next considered and, in the following table, column 1 refers to the total sample and column 2 to those conditionally discharged.

TABLE XXIV
Comparison of Conditional Discharges by Home Circumstances

<i>Home Circumstances</i>	<i>All Cases</i>		<i>Conditional Discharges</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Very poor . . .	19	5 } 37	3	3 } 21
Poor . . .	128	32 }	16	18 }
Comfortable . . .	214	53 } 55	58 } 60	65 } 67
Well-to-do . . .	7	2 }	2 }	2 }

This table indicates that there is some tendency towards an association between conditional discharge orders and better homes.

The 400 cases included 72 (18 per cent.) individuals who came from families with a member or members having criminal records, whereas only 9 (10 per cent.) of those conditionally discharged came from families with criminal records. Here again, although the numbers are small, they might indicate a policy of selection for orders of conditional discharge.

Leisure activities of a constructive nature ranging from 'sports playing' to 'looking after animals' were then assessed and it was found that 217 (54 per cent.) of all the cases could be said to participate in such activities. Among the cases conditionally discharged the number taking part in constructive leisure activities was 49; this represents a percentage of 54 per cent.

Finally we examined the suggestions for treatment made by probation officers in their reports with the object of comparing cases of conditional discharge with the total sample. As before, column 1 refers to the total sample and column 2 to conditional discharge orders:

TABLE XXV

Comparison of Conditional Discharges by Probation Reports

<i>Report</i>	1 <i>All Cases</i>		2 <i>Conditional Discharges</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
No specific suggestion by Probation Officer	98	25	21	24
Court order identical with Probation Officer's suggestion	111	28	22	25
No information	129	32	36	41

The difference between the two columns in the 'no information' category (which means of course that no evidence of a probation report was to be found in the files) is no doubt due to a greater tendency to apply conditional discharge to 'first hearing' cases. 25 per cent of all cases in the sample were dealt with on the 'first court appearance', whereas 35 per cent of conditional discharges were dealt with in the same way. It follows that, in these circumstances, no request would be made for a written report from a probation officer.

Although it is not the duty of a probation officer to make recommendations to the court as to the appropriate method of dealing with the case, the written reports do contain suggestions as to treatment which may assist the court in

arriving at a decision. It is these suggestions of which we have made an analysis in Table XXV. We observed, moreover, that in only 8 cases did probation officers make suggestions other than conditional discharge which were rejected by the court.

From all of these general comparisons, little more can be said to account for the selection of conditional discharge orders than that there seems to be a tendency to apply these orders to those coming from better homes in which other members of the family do not have criminal records.

Nevertheless, it is often difficult to find consistency in sentencing policy when we come to compare individual cases, both within and between the courts. There were several cases in the sample that seemed, from the information about the offender recorded on the files, to be so similar that one would have expected the courts to have dealt with them all in the same way; yet some of these offenders were conditionally discharged and some were dealt with in other ways, and even some of those appearing before the same court were dealt with differently. Indeed, all that appeared to distinguish some offenders who were put on probation from others who were conditionally discharged was that the former seemed to have a better school record.

It is clear that the limits of this particular piece of research—both in regard to the size of the sample and the adequacy of the information in the files—make only for slight understanding of the processes behind the selection of conditional discharge orders.

Four case-histories are included, of which the first two are conditional discharges and the remaining two probation orders. A comparison of the two pairs of case-histories further illustrates the difficulty of recognizing consistency in the application of court orders.

CASE 1 (Charles, aged 15 years).

OFFENCE. Larceny of instruments valued at approximately £100.

ORDER. Conditional discharge, 1 year. 10s. costs.

PREVIOUS APPEARANCES IN COURT. None.

BACKGROUND.

(1) *Family.* The father is an ex-serviceman on a disability pension. He has a job in the catering industry. He was recovering from pneumonia at the time when his son committed the offence. The mother is fully employed in home duties and caring for her husband who is not very strong. Both parents are described as very respectable people and their attitude to the offence was one of concern. The father thrashed his son. There are two other children of school age, neither of whom has been in trouble with the police. The parents and children are R.C's.

(2) Charles goes to church regularly. He spends most of his evenings at home modelling aircraft and ships. He goes to the cinema twice a week and camps and swims each week-end in the summer. He was a scout and did well, is good at sports, plays cricket and football. He is always in by 10 p.m. He gets 8s. a week out of his earnings as pocket money.

SCHOOL RECORD. Conduct very good. Extremely neat and precise in all written work and calculations. Keen, intelligent and possesses a retentive memory. Character—honest, straightforward, willing, reliable. Health—very good. Attendance—very regular. His master was very surprised to learn of the offence and was of the opinion the lad had been led astray by a will stronger than his own.

WORK RECORD. The offence occurred in his place of employment, where he had worked for two to three months. It was his first job. He had just been taken away by his father (who said it was a dead-end job) and had commenced working as a van-boy.

The father was in court.

The *probation officer* said it was a very good home of four rooms. The parents were interested and well-meaning and supervision was thought to be unnecessary.

CASE 2 (Jim, aged 15 years).

OFFENCE. Larceny of watch and cash value approximately £7. He entered the house of a stranger, was later caught sleeping out and in possession of the watch. He had spent the money. (Remanded for psychological report.) Foster-father appeared in Court.

ORDER. Conditional discharge 1 year. 23s. compensation.

PREVIOUS. (1) Beyond control (Fit Person Order). (2) Larceny from offertory box (dismissed).

LATER OFFENCES. Within a few months he ran away from his foster parents and during his two weeks' absence he stole from houses. He was remanded for a psychological report and subsequently sent to an approved school.

BACKGROUND.

(1) *Family.* Foster-father—electrician (night-work), C/E, good character. Foster-mother—home duties. Live in a house of four rooms and the conditions are good and the surroundings fair. They both showed a sympathetic attitude to the lad. They have two married sons living elsewhere.

(2) *The Lad.* Mother—promiscuous. Father—does not know his real father (illegitimate child). When he was 11 years old his mother deserted and 'father' brought him to court as beyond control. A Fit Person Order was made to Dr. Barnardo's Homes Hostel for maladjusted children. A psychiatrist's report had described him as markedly neurotic and unstable, showing little or no sense of responsibility. He had been attending an open-air school and his transfer to an ordinary school had resulted in continual truancy. However, there was no vacancy in the suggested hostel and he was sent to a home elsewhere. Some months later he was said to have stolen 10s. from a church offertory box, but this case was dismissed and he then obtained entry to the hostel originally suggested. His conduct deteriorated rapidly; he absconded and stayed out at night. He was admitted to a mental hospital for observation and diagnosed as an aggressive psychopath. It was felt that he was not suffering from a curable mental illness, but rather from a defect of character which would amount to a permanent handicap.

He met his present foster-father casually during one of his periods of absence and has stayed with him several times since. He came to be officially boarded out to his foster-parents in London—still under the supervision of the L.C.C. No club activities—wanders. 5s. to 6s. pocket money.

L.C.C. REPORT. Truants and wanders.

SCHOOL REPORT. None—would not attend school.

PSYCHOLOGICAL REPORT (following remand). Poor physique, defective vision. I.Q. has been assessed three times since he first appeared before a court: (1) I.Q. 79; (2) 'Average'; (3) 85 (Dull). Suffers from loss of education; therefore is probably of average potential, his performance being grossly inhibited by emotional factors. On remand was seclusive, depressed, sulky and unresponsive to his supervisors. Describes himself as feeling 'lost and empty' since his mother deserted and is preoccupied with fantasies of an ambivalent nature about her. Also feels rejected by the man he knows is not his real father. His reaction against school started when he was transferred to a catholic one and placed in a mixed class with female teachers. This reaction is bound up with his acute conflict about his parents, of a truly neurotic type, coloured by his sexual fantasies and anxieties. He was able to reveal a good deal of fantasy life for the first time and expressed a great relief at doing so.

CASE 3 (Bill, aged 15 years).

OFFENCE. Larceny of musical instruments.

ORDER. Probation 1 year. 10s. costs.

PREVIOUS. None. (Mother in court.)

BACKGROUND.

(1) *Family*. Mother is a Slav who came to England in the 20's. She married a Slav in the 30's and he started a small food business. After a few years she left her husband, who was having an affair with another woman and because he was brutal to her. She worked as a waitress to keep the home going. After three years they were reconciled for the sake of the children, but he never gave up the other woman. Six years later she left him again. There is one sister who is at work and a brother at school. Nothing known against any of them. R.C.'s (the lad is a regular church attender).

(2) *The Lad*. He lived with both parents until he was 5 years old and then with mother until he was 7 and then parents were reconciled. He lived with his father from the age of 14 until he left school. His father insisted on his leaving school and wanted him to go to Germany to relatives. The lad did not want to go, so he went to live with his mother. Was evacuated for a year. While he was with his father he had no home life because his father stayed out late with the other woman, and the lad went about with the local boys. His mother discouraged this.

SCHOOL RECORD not good. Spasmodic attendance due chiefly to trouble at home. Mental ability—generally quite a good average but attainments were seriously affected by other circumstances. Conduct—mischievous. Character—plausible, inclined to be cunning by way of self-protection. Health—good. General: the boy resented living with his father and father's housekeeper. On the other hand, he would not stay with his mother and sister, giving the excuse that his mother was quarrelsome. 'Everyone out of step except the lad.'

PROBATION REPORT. Started work in a factory with a friend. A group was planning to form a band and in fact the lad had thought about getting a trumpet for some time. He probably planned the larceny. He is intelligent and reads a good deal. Mother gives him 3s. each working day for his lunches and 3s. on Saturday and Sundays for pocket money. Goes to cinema two or three times a week. His mother said he truanted a lot from school but his father punished him severely for it. He wants to enter an apprenticeship but was working in his

mother's shop during the case. His mother is nervous and anxious but trying to do her best for the boy. A great deal of possibility about the lad. Has character and could do well. Supervision recommended.

CASE 4 (Tom, aged 15 years).

OFFENCE. Larceny of musical instruments.

ORDER. Probation 1 year. 10s. costs.

PREVIOUS. None. (Mother appeared in court.)

BACKGROUND.

(1) *Family*. Parents are Irish but have lived in England for thirty years and in their present home for sixteen years. Father—factory hand (£7 10s. p.w.). Mother—part-time cook (evenings). One sister at school. Nothing known against them. The father is a quiet man. The mother has not told him of the offence since he 'nags a great deal'. Apparently thinks the wife gives the children their own way.

(2) *The Lad*. The lad was educated at a Catholic College for four years as a boarder. His parents sent him there because he was delicate and because they felt the district was undesirable for the lad to grow up in. Regular church attender.

SCHOOL RECORD. Mental ability—average. Little will to work consistently. Conduct—did not respond to training; perhaps better before leaving. Character—incapable of sustained effort to better himself. Untruthful, unreliable; a few known instances of dishonesty. Good health. Did not scruple at using other people's things; a few known cases of small thefts; he led school authorities to believe that home supervision or control was lacking.

PROBATION REPORT. When he finished school, the whole family went to Ireland for a holiday. On their return, the lad applied for an apprenticeship but committed this offence in the meantime. Is a good sportsman, boxes, plays football and swims. Reads a lot, especially detective stories. Goes to cinema three to four times a week. His mother, who works in the evenings, felt the cinema would keep him out of mischief. He has no regular pocket money from parents but always has enough money from mother's older nieces and nephews who give him quite a lot. Mother said he is quite trustworthy at home. The probation officer formed the impression that the lad's trouble seemed more in the nature of an escapade. The boy has a good home and his parents are interested in his welfare and he seems to be a fairly satisfactory character generally. The probation officer did not think that supervision was necessary.

CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of the study has been to examine the extent of consistency between courts in the application of the same types of court orders to similar cases. The hypothesis on which the work was based assumed that such consistency existed. The extent to which this investigation has been unable to substantiate the hypothesis may well be the result of the inadequacy of the information at our disposal. A sample of 400 cases distributed equally over eight courts might be thought insufficient for the detailed analysis on which the work was based—although this sample constituted a little more than 40 per cent. of the population in the selected year. The degree of homogeneity of the sample group might also give rise

to criticism. The extent to which a group is homogeneous will depend on the relative significance of the characteristics selected for the particular experiment or study. Thus, opinion might be divided about whether our broad pattern of identity in sex, age group and type of offence was more or less likely to outweigh differences in the combinations of the remaining analytic data applicable to the sample cases. However, we do not suggest that this was the ideal homogeneous group but only that it was the most homogeneous group that could be selected. It appeared to be the most significant sample in terms of size and in relation to the limits of alternative groups from which a sample could be drawn, and the time and money to be expended on the research.

An attempt has been made to find a pattern in the types of cases which could be identified with the methods of disposal employed. In general, this has not been found, but this may be due to the fact that inappropriate characteristics were selected for examination and comparison. The classification of data which were used for the purpose of comparison was thought to cover most of the possible variations which could relate to the individual case. It appeared to include those aspects of cases which experts were likely to report on or courts to enquire about. However, if consistency exists in the treatment policies of these courts, it seems that the factors producing such uniformity are not derived from the data examined in this study, nor recorded in the files.

It is not possible to say to what extent the appearance and demeanour of the individual in the court is likely to convey impressions to the court which appear to them to be a more effective guide than, for instance, the statement of a probation officer about the material conditions of the home. For example, the court making the greatest use of absolute discharge received the least number of probation reports and at the same time showed the least agreement of all the courts with the recommendations made by the officers. Yet it is also a fact that this court had the highest number of cases where both parents of the offender attended the court. The data extracted from the files would include little or nothing about the effect on the courts of the parents' attitudes.

It would be as difficult for any magistrate to describe what he or she meant by 'court experience' as it would be for the research worker to measure it. However, the negative results which have come from our efforts to establish consistency in the use of the different types of court orders suggest that the subjective or intuitive assessment of individual cases does, in the main, prevail. No doubt this process of assessment is made in the light of knowledge brought to the magistrates through reports. Experience may teach the court that factors which appear important are, quite often, relatively insignificant in assessing particular cases. Further, although

throughout this work, for the reasons already explained, we have referred to courts we know that, in fact, court decisions are group decisions. Three magistrates sit in the juvenile court, and court orders are the outcome of the joint experience of all three. The next step therefore appears to be that of examining the attitudes of magistrates to the various cases, the processes by which cases are assessed, and ways in which court decisions are reached.

SUMMARY

This research was planned with two objects in mind, of which only the first has so far been attempted: (a) an examination of the consistency of court decisions in the London juvenile courts on a random sample of cases; (b) a follow-up study of the same sample after a period of years (not yet decided) and the assessment of the success and failure of this sample.

Our intention was to select as homogeneous a group as possible and the selection of the sample was confined to male 'young persons' between 14 and 17 years of age found guilty of larceny. A total sample of 400 cases was drawn containing 50 cases from eight courts in the London juvenile court area. Five of the chairmen of these courts were men and three women.

The study was carried out mainly from the juvenile court records, but with additional information provided by the London County Council Children's Department through the reports of the special officers.

The research was discussed with members of the London juvenile court panel, but there was no interviewing of individual delinquents. After an examination of the court files the social and psychological data were transferred to punched cards in accordance with a schedule, decided on after a pilot survey. The schedule consisted of three parts: (a) legal and administrative; (b) sociological; and (c) psychological.

An analysis of decisions by the eight courts was made under three heads: discharge orders; probation orders; remainder. This analysis was shown first in terms of deviations from the average. Secondly, we calculated correlation coefficients showing the amount of agreement between courts in the sample, and finally we used factor analysis as a classifying tool. By this classification six courts were grouped into three pairs, and two courts remained isolated. An explanation of this grouping was attempted and the court areas were analysed in terms of social class groups.

We concluded that such factors as the sex of the Chairmen magistrates, court identity, and comparative social analyses of the court areas throw no light on the similarities or otherwise in the orders applied by the eight courts.

Our next problem concerned the availability of information in terms of which these court decisions were made. In general we had to rely on the clerk's notes for information which was given to the court in other ways than by official reports. Variations in the availability of information con-

tained in the records led us to a detailed analysis of this problem, broken down by individual courts, some of which differed widely in the extent of the recorded data on which their decisions were based (administrative and legal information, as recorded, was deficient by only 1.8 per cent recorded information on psychological data by 60 per cent).

From a study of the tables, however, the differences between paired courts in rank order show little significance as regards the similarity or dis-similarity of the eight in their sentencing policy; nor, apart from the relationship between Courts '6' and '7', does there appear to be any correspondence between the information contained in probation reports and the association between courts.

An analysis of the different types of larcenies among the eight courts showed a fairly even distribution over the whole field. This was followed by an examination of family structure, of criminal records in the family, of the socio-economic status of households, of mothers at work or fathers absent from home, of conditions in the home, and of the boys' leisure pursuits. None of these factors show any relation to the association between courts in their treatment policy.

A special object of the research was the use made of conditional discharge and the relationship between absolute and conditional discharge. The total population of conditional discharges was broken down in terms of type of larceny, the value of the article stolen, the structure of the family, the economic circumstances of the home, the criminal record of the family members, the leisure activity of the boy, the recommendations of the probation officer. Apart from the tendency to apply conditional discharges to those coming from better families without criminal records, there was no relationship to be observed. The comparison of individual cases of conditional discharge shows no pattern of consistency either within or between courts.

Four case-histories are included, varying considerably in the amount of information available; two of these were placed on probation and two were conditionally discharged.

Although we conclude from this research that our initial hypothesis as to the existence of consistency in court decisions cannot be supported, our failure to confirm the hypothesis may be due to the inadequacy of the information available. Some analysis was made of the lacunæ in the records, and even allowing for additional verbal information presented in the court, it would seem that decisions have frequently been taken without the help of a full social history.

We conclude, therefore, that it is the intuitive assessment of individual cases which in the main prevails. The next step, we suggest, might very usefully consist of a study of magistrates' attitudes to the different methods of treatment at their disposal.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

A PILOT STUDY AS SUGGESTED BY "RECIDIVISM, PSYCHOPATHY AND PERSONALITY"¹

Introduction. Franks (1956)² has postulated that there are two types of recidivists—those with introverted personalities whom he believes to possess predominantly excitatory cortices, and those with extraverted personalities who possess predominantly inhibitory cortices. The introverts should condition well and retain their acquired reflexes while the extraverts form conditioned reflexes with difficulty and retain them badly. From this hypothesis the conclusion is drawn that the environment will be found to be different in the two groups of delinquents—the introverted delinquents will have learned the rules of an undesirable environment: the extraverts will have failed to learn the rules of their environment 'desirable or otherwise'. Finally, the introverted delinquents should respond to training and re-education while the extraverts should fail to do so. The following study was designed to test some of these postulates and indicate the usefulness of a broader, more refined research.

Method. Sixty-five boys in a senior approved school were tested in three groups on successive weekly visits to the school in May–June, 1956. The boys were not specially selected and the groups were formed by collecting boys who happened to be in their houses or working in handily situated trades. The boys were asked to complete a questionnaire (The Maudsley Personality Inventory) designed to provide scores of the dimensions with which Eysenck (1947)³ has been concerned—extraversion; introversion and neuroticism. The questionnaire also provides a 'lie' score to show the validity of the individual record. One boy declined to complete the questionnaire. The other 64 boys co-operated well, showing an interest in the test and its purpose and often writing comments on it after they had completed it.

The mean scores and standard deviation for the whole group were: —

'Extraversion'	Mean	13.5	S.D.	4.1
'Neuroticism'	„	13.5	S.D.	5.7
'Lie'	„	6.2	S.D.	1.9

By taking those scoring two points above and below the mean of the extraversion score it was possible to form two sub-groups (scoring more than 15.5 and less than 11.5). The first group consisted of 23 boys and the second of 22 boys. The status of these boys was examined at a definite point in time—31st August, 1956—

¹ The writer wishes to thank Dr. R. Ström-Olsen for his interest in this work, Mr. G. H. B. Shaw, Headmaster, Ardale School, for his kind co-operation, and Dr. C. M. Franks for helpful criticism.

² Franks, C. M. 'Recidivism, Psychopathy and Personality', *Brit. J. Delinq.*, VI, 3, 192.

³ Eysenck, H. J. 'Dimensions of Personality'. (London: Kegan Paul, 1947.)
'The Scientific Study of Personality'. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952.)

and their records were examined systematically to obtain certain information on their environment, family history and their own past history. This information is listed below.

	<i>Introverts</i>	<i>Extraverts</i>
No.	22	23
Extraversion	9.1 $\pm$ 2.28	18.0 $\pm$ 2.04 ¹
Neuroticism	12.55	11.83
Lie	6.52	5.61
Age	17 yrs. 1.48 mths.	17 yrs. 4.14 mths.
Mean stay to date	1 yr. 1.7 mths.	1 yr. 2.45 mths.
No. licensed	3	9 ²
Mean stay of boys licensed	1 yr. 11 mths.	1 yr. 5.5 mths.
Stay of unlicensed boys to date	1 yr. .02 mths.	1 yr. .01 mths.
Transferred to other schools or Borstal	2	1
Absconded	0	1
Material state of homes:		
Good	14	16
$\pm$	1	2
Bad	6	4
?	1	1
District in which home situated:		
London	4	11 ³
Provinces	17	11
?	1	1
Parents domiciled:		
Father away (deserted; dead; separated; divorced)	5	8
Mother away (deserted; dead; separated; divorced)	3	2
Both away (deserted; dead)	2	4
'Records' of crimes committed by parents	3	5
Siblings with 'records' of crime	5	2
Charge:		
Stealing }	8	9
Larceny }		
Bicycles	2	0
Cars	3	2
Breaking and entering	4	6
Breach of probation	0	2
Care and protection	0	2
Receiving	1	0
False pretences	1	1
Indecent assault	2	0
?	1	1
Undesirable associates mentioned in file	10	11
Previous offences mentioned in file	20	15 ⁴

¹ $t = 13.8, p = < .01.$

² $\chi^2 = 67, p = .01.$

³ $\chi^2 = 5.8, p = .02.$

⁴ $\chi^2 = 1.8, p = .2.$

Results. It will be seen that there are only three striking differences between the groups. Firstly, the two groups differ as far as their mean extraversion scores are concerned (and indeed were arranged to produce this difference); secondly, they show that in the two months between June and August nine extraverts and only three introverts were licensed, and finally, half the extraverts came from the County of London and half from the provinces, while four-fifths of the introverts were from the provinces and only a fifth from the County of London.

In relation to licence it will be seen that the introverts licensed had spent six

months longer in the school than the extraverts, while there is no difference in the stay to date of the two groups; on the other hand, it will be seen that there are no differences in the material state of the boys' homes, the proportion of broken homes, the family record of crime, the recording of 'undesirable associations', the type of offence, and the commission of previous offences.

Discussion. In short, there is no difference shown in the immediate personal environment between a group of delinquent introverts and a group of delinquent extraverts. (There is no significant difference in recidivism between the two groups, but if only the recidivists are considered the above findings still remain true).

Assuming the school authorities to be correct in their empirical selection for licensing then it is apparent that introverts do not succeed in reaching a satisfactory level as quickly as extraverts. This is contrary to the postulated effect.

Finally, there remains the geographical distribution of personality types to examine. This might still be due to chance. Unless the provinces are a worse ('more undesirable') environment, however, once again the finding is not meaningful within the scope of the hypothesis considered.

This pilot study is open to criticism on the grounds that (a) only small numbers were studied, (b) only one test was used, and (c) existing records were used and a special social investigation was not undertaken. With its limitations, however, it shows no support for Dr. Franks' postulates.

A. A. ROBIN.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

PENAL REFORM IN CANADA

On May 26 to 29, 1957, the first All-Canadian 'Congress of Corrections' was held in Montreal, sponsored by the Canadian Corrections Association of the Canadian Welfare Council, which has its headquarters in Ottawa. It was attended by approximately 400 delegates from all parts of Canada and has to be regarded as an important milestone in the history of penal reform in that country. In the past twenty years, Canada has produced two remarkable official documents in this field, the 'Report of the Royal Commission to investigate the Penal System of Canada', headed by Mr. Justice Archambault¹, and more recently the Report of a Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Fauteux, the 'Fauteux Report', as it is commonly called², covering far more than only its original subject, the field of 'remission'. The Fauteux Report deals in fact with nearly every important aspect of the administration of criminal justice, be it preventive detention, indeterminate and suspended sentences, probation, fines, pre-sentence reports, or corporal punishment. Its bulk is of course devoted to prison reform and after-care. Particular emphasis is placed on the difficulties, legislative, judicial and administrative,

¹ Ottawa, 1938, 418 pp.

² Report of a Committee appointed to inquire into the Principles and Procedures followed in the Remission Service of the Department of Justice of Canada, Ottawa, 1956, 162 pp.

resulting from the fact that in Canada 'legislative authority over all of the subject is divided between the federal legislature and ten provincial legislatures. Administrative authority over it is divided between the federal government and ten provincial governments' (p. 5). To give only two illustrations of what this means in practice: A sentence of two years or more is served in a federal penitentiary, while shorter sentences have to be served in provincial institutions; and 'the subject matter of probation falls within the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the provincial legislature, because probation officers are officers of the court. The subject matter of parole, on the other hand, falls within the jurisdiction of Parliament in the field of criminal law' (p. 7). Only a few of the forty-four recommendations of the Fauteux Report can here be mentioned: a full-scale system of adult probation in each province; legislation to authorize probation without conviction; more presentence reports; appropriate arrangements for visits by judges and magistrates to the penal institutions to which they sentence offenders; some means should be devised to avoid 'unjustified inequalities in the length of sentences', especially in the case of co-offenders; classification staffs of appropriate size and an appropriate pre-release programme should be provided for all penal institutions; the federal government should be responsible for all persons sentenced to periods of more than six months; considerable changes should be made in the parole system and specialized after-care should be provided for particular types of parolees, such as sex offenders, drug addicts, alcoholics and psychopaths. A special plea is made for better co-ordination of the various agencies operating the penal system: 'Each will fulfil its function better if it acts in co-operation with and with an understanding of the others. Integration of activity is essential' (p. 5).

It was in conformity with this keynote of the Fauteux Report that the Planning Committee of the Montreal Congress had chosen as its central theme 'Teamwork in Corrections'. It was treated in a general way in two papers by Juge Jean Chazal, Vice-President of the Tribunal de la Seine, Paris, and by the present writer. In addition, there were many papers and group discussions on a large number of more specialized aspects of teamwork. Dr. Walter Wallack, the Warden of Wallkill Prison, New York, spoke on 'Current Issues in Corrections', and special sessions were devoted to research, juvenile court matters, probation, parole and after-care; prison administration; clinical services; women offenders; education for the correctional field; and many other subjects. Visits to institutions were arranged; and the Federal Government, the Government of the Province of Quebec, the City of Montreal, the Canadian Corrections Association with its Chairman, M. Pierre Charest, and its Secretary, Mr. W. T. McGrath, and their staff, as well as many other official agencies and private citizens, did everything to make the Congress a success. A fuller appreciation of its work will have to await the publication of the Proceedings.

H. M.

REVIEWS

FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION: AGE GROUPS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By D. N. Eisenstadt. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1956. Pp. 357. 42s.)

Dr. Eisenstadt has found an important subject and worked hard at it. Only the closing pages of his book are concerned with delinquent groups, but the comparative study of age groups—especially of youth groups—is of importance to all criminologists in the illumination it gives not just on normal socialisation and the institutionalised paths to adult status, but in explaining the nature, possibility, and structure of deviance. Yet, though the author has worked hard, he has perhaps not worked hard enough. English is not his native tongue, but the latinity of his vocabulary, the germanicism of his sentence structure, the eccentricity of his paragraphing, could all have been cured by the taking of competent advice. This kind of prose not merely gives sociology a bad name; it stands between the mind of the reader and the thought of the writer; worse still, it gives an appearance of scientific precision and ‘depth’ which may deceive the writer himself.

Some of the difficulty of the book is a consequence of Dr. Eisenstadt’s adherence to the sociological theory of Professor Talcott Parsons. Now in sociology almost any theory around which data can be organised is better than none. Professor Parsons’ theories are undeniably ambitious and Dr. Eisenstadt thinks in Parsonian terms without difficulty. The reader, finding Parsons explained in a footnote, may be taken aback by the apparatus of concepts which orders the factual material: he may even feel that, once used, the apparatus, like the scaffolding round a new building, could be removed with profit to reveal the independent architecture of the building.

Having said this, let me now try briefly to explain what I take to be the core of the book. For a society to persist over time it must transmit an institutional pattern of behaviour from generation to generation. In societies where the family (or certain other groups) is not the basis of the division of labour we tend to find adolescents organised into age groups—usually undergoing their *rites de passage* together—and bound together by a common institutional structure in some way separate from that of the rest of the society. These age groups differ in inclusiveness, age-span, community of economic or ritual function from society to society in so far as societies vary in the degree of division of labour and in value-system.

Even where society is basically ‘familistic’ age groups tend to form where the structure of family or kin is an obstacle to the attainment of fully adult status. (And this, I think, is true of all family or kin systems to some extent. It is regrettable that Dr. Eisenstadt has not paid more attention to Ginsberg’s analysis of ‘quasi-groups’). The degree of deviance displayed by age groups is largely a function of the degree of functional continuity between family and total social system. Yet, as the rôle system of the family can never be equivalent to that of a complex society, age groups of some kind exist to mediate the transitions of the youth to the grown-up world.

All this is fully and variously illustrated with material drawn from primitive, oriental and industrial societies. Here is much of the strength of the book. These data enable one to generalise usefully from, for example, van Gennep, and earlier writings of Dr. Mead. But the data and argument go beyond normal, integrative age groups. There is an analysis, rather disappointing compared with what has gone before, of (1) delinquent groups in areas of intense culture contact; (2) organised delinquent groups; (3) the youth sections of revolutionary political parties; (4) the 'revolt of youth'—especially in the context of post-1918 Germany. Of these (1) and (2) are rather sketches than analyses, but the heart of the matter, not just for the sociologist engaged on the study of comparative institutions but for the criminologist, is in the earlier sections.

In sum: this is a valuable book on an important topic. It disappoints only in that it could so easily have been better. It ought to lead to more refined and fuller studies of an area equally vital and neglected by social scientists and administrators.

D. G. MACRAE.

JUGENDKRIMINOLOGIE. Studien und Erfahrungen. By Wolf Middendorff. (A. Henn Verlag. Ratingen bei Dusseldorf. 1956. Pp. 344. DM 15.80).

As compared with the wealth of American textbooks on juvenile delinquency there have been very few publications of high quality in this country and on the Continent dealing with the subject in all its aspects. All the more welcome is this excellent textbook by Dr. Middendorff, a judge in Freiburg and already a well-known authority in this field. Its scope is very wide, ranging as it does from definitions, statistics, age, sex and group problems to etiology, prevention and treatment. All these topics are discussed with great insight and a truly amazing mastery of the facts and literature (there is a bibliography of 70 pp.) The author's first-hand experience is not limited to Germany; repeated stays in Great Britain, U.S.A., France and other Continental countries have widened his horizon and enabled him to make interesting comparisons between conditions and institutions in his own country and abroad. It is probably due to his familiarity with Anglo-American literature that, while admitting Lombroso's lasting merits as the champion of individualised treatment of criminals, he refuses to accept the claims of the anthropological school in their entirety. Valuable are his observations on national characteristics and differences and the various ways in which they are reflected in delinquent behaviour, as also on the effect of migrations, on gangs and on the family. In his discussion of family problems he deplores the present tendency towards self-abdication on the part of the father, who can no longer play his rôle as leader and ideal, and on the other hand the absorption of so many mothers in industry, a phenomenon which in Germany has produced the appearance in the street of the 'schlüsselkinder' (literally 'key children'), aimlessly wandering about with their door-keys dangling round their necks because there is nobody at home. It is only natural that Dr. Middendorff's chapters on economic and political factors and on 'Entwicklungsstörungen und Fehlhaltungen' are deeply influenced by his impressions of events in Germany during the past quarter of a century and that he is inclined to regard the, in his view unprecedented, lack of moral and religious standards in present-day youth as the strongest factor in the post-war wave of delinquency. True as this may be, it is only the natural effect of those happenings in the political sphere.

In his discussion of the Juvenile Court the author favours the present French system as providing the best professional training and the highest status for its juvenile court judges. On the other hand, he admires the English Probation Service, but doubts whether the ideological basis for the development of a corresponding system exists in Germany. His impressions of the Detention Centres are cautious but not altogether unfavourable.

Well-informed and well-balanced, this is a book that might well deserve an English translation.

H. M.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS BEFORE THE COURTS. By Max Grünhut. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. 143. 21s.)

The scientific investigation of methods of treatment is still only in a very early stage of development but there is a growing recognition of the need for systematic investigation as a basis for the formulation of policy. This important and concise work by Dr. Grünhut will provide a solid foundation for future studies in this field. It constitutes the fruit of methodical research and intimate knowledge of the material. Nowhere does Dr. Grünhut reach conclusions which the facts of his study do not support.

His analysis of the treatment practice of magistrates courts in the 134 police districts presupposes an inquiry into variations in the rates of delinquency for different areas. The chapter dealing with this data shows the wide variations which exist between town and countryside and between towns of differing size and structure. These differences are easier to describe than to classify. Dr. Grünhut recognizes that it is still too early to work out statistical correlations between rates of delinquency and other social factors. High-delinquency areas appear to be large industrial towns with a high proportion of small incomes though not necessarily where poverty is prevalent, and where there is considerable infant mortality. In such areas there is a consistency of high rates within a stable population.

Treatment practice in the areas where four-fifths of the juvenile delinquents live does not differ much from the average standard, but within the range of marked deviation there are clearly contrasted patterns in the use of probation and of fines. Some of the high-delinquency areas show a co-incidence of low rates of probation and high rates of fines. There is, moreover, a change in the emphasis from probation to fines in the country as a whole.

The third section of this investigation consists of field studies in five selected districts designed to provide qualitative material with which to supplement the statistical evidence. Here the conclusions are less clear since the attempt to relate policy to the character of the offence and of the offender is exceedingly complex. A far larger research is required. Dr. Grünhut, however, concludes that as a rule magistrates do not use removal from home as a punitive measure and the results appear to support this policy. Nevertheless there seems a good case for considering the wider employment of probation in those areas where considerable use is at present made of discharge.

JOHN SPENCER.

SOCIAL CASEWORK: PRINCIPES, ENSEIGNEMENT, SUPERVISION. By L. de Bray and J. Tuerlinckx. (Brussels: Editions C.O.M.E.T.S. 1955. Pp. 371. Price not stated.)

The writers of this book, two experienced social workers in the probation field, have obviously felt that the widespread incorporation of casework principles into social work in the French speaking areas of Europe was inconceivable until an indigenous text-book was available which discussed the teaching of both theory and practice in relation to a culture background very different from that of the United States of America. The thoroughness with which this task has been undertaken is both challenging and instructive. There is something peculiarly un-English about this detailed and didactic achievement, which, by combining, not always very naturally, some of the better American and French educational traditions, highlights the problems involved in transplanting good professional practice, that hybrid offspring of science and technology which is also an art.

In spite of some English references in the excellent bibliography, it is clear that the writers are unfamiliar with English practice and draw most helpfully on catholic French-Canadian writers and the Dutch experience of introducing 'American' casework teaching in a culture where students are said to be theologians first and social workers second. The exposition of principles is impeccable, but without any locally established teaching in casework to relate these to, the expectations of practice described suffer from idealism and an over dogmatic simplicity which might be appropriate to the anticipated twenty year old students, but need to be challenged and modified by the experience of teaching older workers. The writers do in fact recognise that much in-service and other training of experienced workers is essential in order to develop adequate field-work supervision and it is tempting to speculate as to the modifications they may already have made.

JOAN SMITH.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY. By N. O'Connor and J. Tizard. (London and New York: Pergamon Press. 1957. Pp. 182. 30s.)

It is a happy circumstance that the publication of this pioneering work should have been shortly followed by the report of the Royal Commission on mental illness and the law, in that many of the authors' recommendations have been adopted by it. A brief historical review refers to two trends in the care of defectives: the rather fatalistic attitude which leads merely to the provision of custodial care; and the more positive attitude lying behind attempts to adapt defectives to as full a life as possible. The authors do not hide their own adherence, with due scientific caution, to the second trend; and present a good deal of challenging evidence in favour of it. Their own contribution has consisted of demonstrating the possibility of training substantial proportions of the feeble-minded to do productive work, both in special institution workshops, and on licence in a factory or on a building site. With sufficient effort, even imbeciles could be trained to perform simple routine work efficiently. In developing positive and stable attitudes to work, the importance is stressed of having adequately trained supervisors, of the provision of genuinely productive work, and of the payment of proper wages.

In general, evidence is presented to show that, in the feeble-minded, deficit of intelligence, in itself, is responsible neither for poor social or work adaption, nor

for delinquent tendencies. It is pointed out that the average I.Q. of institution feeble-minded is about 70, and that many more people of this level are to be found leading relatively normal lives outside institutions. The anti-social or disturbed personality is deemed to require treatment, whether of normal or sub-normal intelligence, and group therapy of a number of such cases gave moderately encouraging results. Arising from their own experience, and from reviews of other work, the authors make a strong plea for programmes of training to adapt as many defectives as possible to life in the community, along the lines of improved workshops in institutions, wider training facilities for those living at home, and the provision of hostels for those working at factories.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Royal Commission had taken due notice of the findings and recommendations of Drs. O'Connor and Tizard, and one hopes, both on humanitarian and economic grounds, that the day will soon have passed when certification as a defective could sometimes serve simply as a convenient means of disposal.

C. B. HINDLEY.

BRITISH SOCIAL WORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By A. F. Young and E. T. Ashton. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1956. Pp. vii + 264. 25s.)

The emphasis of this book is on the development of the methods and philosophy of social casework during the nineteenth century. It is divided into two main parts, a rather broad introduction to the social philosophy of the time and then studies of social work in different fields. The first part is quite a fair introduction that should be of use to social science students though it is rather heavily weighted towards the early part of the period, and some notable figures are omitted. This is possibly because the authors approached the subject more from the angle of the work of individuals than through the study of wider trends. A slightly quaint effect is produced by the use of the exclamation mark in this section, almost as if the authors were surprised by the events they chronicle.

The section on the penal services deals with the work of Elizabeth Fry and Mary Carpenter, together with short accounts of prison aftercare work and the development of the idea of probation. These are quite all right as far as they go, but to anyone acquainted with the field their interest is limited. Altogether the book is a useful introduction to the history of social casework.

J. P. MARTIN.

THE ENGLISH PENAL SYSTEM. By Winifred A. Elkin. (London: Penguin Books. 1957. Pp. 288. 3s. 6d.)

Miss Elkin's little book comes as a valuable addition to what appears to be a growing literature about contemporary penal problems and practice. At the same time not only has the interest of the intelligent general public been stimulated by the writings of ex-prisoners and the fullest public discussion of the issue of capital punishment, but amongst those more closely concerned with the problems of crime and delinquency there is a growing feeling that important developments are on foot. Although most of those engaged in the social work field are aware of most of the underlying principles of modern penology, it is unfortunately true that only those most intimately concerned are conversant with the details of current penal practice. In this respect 'The English Penal System'

is useful both to the layman who broadens his knowledge cheaply through the Pelican series, and to those who seek more detailed information in the course of improving their professional competence.

The central part of the book is not unnaturally concerned with penal institutions, especially prisons and Borstals, but two most important introductory sections are devoted to the aim of the penal system and the methods of disposal available to the courts for all types of offender. It is in many ways refreshing to find that the chapter 'Prisons of yesterday and Prisons of Today' is of very moderate length, for it is in some measure true to say that the practice of the past is only marginally relevant to the practice of the present day, and of only academic relevance to the penology of tomorrow. Some writers are apt to dwell over-long on the subject of prisons in the 19th century.

'The English Penal System,' while accurate and authoritative, should not be regarded by students as a substitute for more detailed works like 'English Prison and Borstal Systems,' for its aim is a comprehensive survey of the whole penological field. Its great merit is not perhaps so much its accuracy at its objectivity: it does not simply state, for example, that 'the procedure for the committal of juvenile offenders to detention centres is such and such' but provides the reader with the substance of the controversy surrounding the use of these institutions. The author's association with the penal reform movement might have led one to expect a certain degree of bias, but on the contrary the differing viewpoints which extend to many features of our penal system are presented with exemplary fairness. It is not, however, a book from which positive statements are absent; great emphasis is placed for example on the fact that the rehabilitation of offenders as responsible citizens can only be achieved by recognising them to be *individuals* rather than mere members of classificatory groups and, ultimately, by gearing the system to their needs and problems.

While it covers a wide range of topics the primary criterion by which it assesses our penal system is that of treatment. In certain instances the reader's view may not coincide with that of the author, as for example when she suggests that the payment of realistic wages to prisoners would not achieve its real object of enabling the prisoner to support his family. She argues that it would merely mean an indirect subsidy from the Prison Commission in place of a direct payment by the N.A.B. Although some of the ground will be familiar to many, it will not fail to refresh the memory and as a book it merits a wide sale amongst the general public.

T. P. MORRIS.

GROUP WORK AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, 1956. Papers presented at the 83rd Annual Forum of the National Conference of Social Work. (Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. 108. 20s.)

Within a comparatively short space of time, the social welfare movement has changed its character from enlightened amateurism to expert professionalism, and, parallel with this change, the empirical, philanthropic ideas of kindly gentlemen have given place to a host of concepts borrowed *ad hoc* from the neighbouring disciplines of sociology and psychology. Not one of the contributors to this interesting symposium seems alive to the dangers of using such borrowed concepts—the chief of these being the elaboration of an appalling jargon that, very fortunately, exhausts itself in the hands of the first author whose arid task it is to introduce

the subject and define and classify the concepts in current use in America. All our old friends are there: rôles and resources, structures and process, goals and problem-solving, leadership, etc.

On the other hand, they do seem very much aware of the dangers of professionalism and the dubious blessings that psychiatry and science have conferred on their general approach. They recognise that their relationships with their clients have become gradually formalised on the model of the doctor-patient relationship, and they do well to ask themselves whether such limitations are really necessary to their purpose. The requirements of reports, conferences and records and the size and structures of their agencies have also had an effect in depersonalising the contacts, and putting social distance between themselves and their members.

The 'community organization worker' of today had apparently many difficult rôles to play—administrative, research, participant, etc.—but what is uppermost in the minds of these professional leaders is to preserve his basic rôle of helper, but no longer in the old 'do-good' sense. In the terms of his theory he helps the community 'to meet its needs . . . understand the nature of his own agency . . .'; in practice his aim is to help real people to help themselves by placing his special social insights at their disposal, and getting them, by fuller participation, to satisfy their interpersonal and intergroup needs.

There is altogether much more stress on the group than there is in Britain, and this puts a premium on the personality assets of the worker and on his capacity to make warm contacts without involvement. The shift in emphasis from the individual to the community, which is such a feature of American life today, has clearly had its influence on their type of research and therapy. They are impatient with investigations into the intrapsychic conflicts of the delinquent, feeling as they do that there should be more concern with social pathology rather than psychopathology; and with such provocative social phenomena as the clash of adolescent and adult values in the contemporary western development of the individual.

In therapy it turns them inevitably to psychological interest in groups, in which the therapeutic aim is very much group-centred—the achievement of better group adjustment. I found myself rather out of sympathy with the procedures described, because, once again, the borrowed concepts come in to interfere with the deeper understanding of the individual in the group; our old friends, acceptance, security, confidence, etc. are tabulated and trotted out. In the sphere of practical social work, such as in helping the rural and aged communities to come to practical terms with their special problems, there is little to criticise and much to praise. It is only in therapy that the limitations of the approach become apparent.

E. J. ANTHONY.

THE CHILD AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD. By D. W. Winnicott (London: Tavistock Publications Limited. 1957. Pp. 200. 16s.)

Dr. Winnicott was in the enviable position of being able to study the problems of childhood and adolescence silhouetted against the background of war-time evacuation. Many of the essays were broadcast talks and were addressed to parents, foster parents, case workers amongst evacuees and all interested in the urgent issue of care of children under conditions of stress. These conditions, however, illustrate normal problems and afford data for theory as well as for therapy. There are so many aspects which Dr. Winnicott illuminates in his now familiar

and penetrating way that reviewing is likely to strip the living tissue from inner bones of theory.

There are several essays of importance to the student of delinquent behaviour viewed in terms of genesis as well as superficial appearance. A most readable and valuable contribution to child studies.

E. M.

GROUP PSYCHOTHERAPY. By S. H. Foulkes and E. J. Anthony. (London : Penguin Books. 1957. Pp. 263. 3s. 6d.)

This book on the practice and theory of group therapy by two London psychoanalysts is very welcome. It represents a particular school of thought and tries to evaluate group therapy by means of *ad hoc* concepts that are modelled on the lines of Freudian theory and yet emphasise the difference between individual and group therapy. The book is written for a wide public and as it appears in the low-priced Penguin series it is sure to be read by many educated lay-people as well as by those who are professionally interested.

The effectiveness of group therapy is assumed implicitly. The difficulties and complications which may be encountered in the course of treatment are hardly mentioned at all. This policy is perhaps a wise one in a book that is intended for the general public. Yet an uneasy feeling remains that the authors have been too sanguine in their presentation. They talk of a 'spontaneous' therapeutic process in groups, and state that the group therapist is justified in assuming that the group 'without any pressure from him will prefer to take the therapeutic road, even though it is a little rougher'. Phrases like these may raise high hopes in the minds of potential patients; disappointment is bound to follow in many cases.

The theoretical postulates of the authors are generally keyed to an optimistic and all-explanatory pitch. It is therefore not surprising that their theory is often in conflict with actuality, that the concepts they outline disagree with the activities they advise a group therapist to adopt. It is stated, for instance, that therapeutic groups are in a class by themselves and different from all other social groups because they are given no particular task to perform. Yet the patients are obviously expected to talk rather than to act out in the group situation. Their talk is characterized as a 'verbal communication' of a special kind; it is not a directed conversation but a 'free floating discussion' which arises entirely from the 'spontaneous mood of the group and its members' and the permissive attitude of the group therapist. However, on the next page it is rightly stated that 'the conductor accepts and *even encourages* such statements as might not be made in any ordinary social situation' [reviewer's italics]. After all the conductor is there to conduct and to guide, even if the theory talks of permissiveness. This confusion between theory and practice has led the authors to claim that the mere observation of a therapeutic group is scientific because it discloses spontaneous activities, unmodified by the presence of the theoretically permissive therapist.

The setting and the proceedings of group therapeutic meetings are described in detail. Chapters V and VI, which contain graphic accounts of actual group sessions with children, adolescents and adults, are perhaps the most successful sections of the book. A writer of some experience and accomplishment, who had been a member of a therapeutic group, contributes an imaginative and lively report of her group experiences.

F. K. TAYLOR.

BATTLE FOR THE MIND. By Willam Sargent. (London: Heinemann. 1957. Pp. 248. 25s.)

Dr. Sargent has attempted in this volume to explain largely on a neurological basis the mechanism of 'brain-washing' which has unfortunately played so notorious a part in enforced political confessions and indeed conversions. Being so close to some of its most alarming manifestations we are perhaps apt to forget that the technique of coercion has been used by political and religious fanaticism to make its victims succumb. Dr. Sargent employs the discoveries of Pavlov as an open sesame to reveal how vulnerable the mind is if it is subject to specific conditioning. But his thesis ranges very far and very wide to include in the whole gamut of suggestibility the conversions achieved by religious evangelism strikingly disclosed in Wesley's mission, in the crude revivalism he has witnessed in America, the trance states of oriental religion and the methods of political confessionals made familiar to us in the recent trials in totalitarian countries. While it is an interesting basic assumption that the unit of learning by training and coercion is the conditioned reflex, it seems a far cry from dogs to man in moments of political and religious stress. Even if we are compounded of these many simples, the more complex mental activities which presumably have their neural counterparts seem to exist and operate in their own right, have autonomy and self regulation at various levels of integration.

It is only under conditions of great stress, privation, prolonged enforced fatigue, threats of various kinds that disintegration comes about and man is reduced to his most primitive reactive levels. Hypnosis, shock 'therapy', non-specific abreaction are undoubtedly techniques for breaking up neural patterns, but it is a notorious and melancholy fact that the reconstruction of former patterns usually follows, unless laboriously slow change produces new patterns of belief and action by the release of tied up affects which are only adaptive in a psychopathic sense.

Dr. Sargent has performed some service in stressing the dangerous consequences of crisis psychology already made familiar to us in the writings of Tarde and Le Bon, but he appears to extend his thesis to the normal who, he says, is more vulnerable than the hysteric and the psychotic to these methods of conditioning. Had Dr. Sargent displayed some tolerant understanding of psychopathology of guilt which influences the behaviour in political as well as in religious attitudes, he would have realised an essential dimension in conversion.

From the standpoint of criminology Dr. Sargent's book raises an interesting problem. What is the significance of the so-called accepted method of examining persons charged for offences? Is the technique of intimidation and duress a justifiable method for obtaining confessions of guilt? Criminal investigators are aware of the value (to them) of immediate attack on the quasi guilty. The interrogated subject caves in by the immediate impact. The innocent may be equally prone to collapse but for deeper reasons than superficial or legal guilt.

E. M.

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE SOVIET UNION. Edited with an introduction by Brian Simon. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1957. Pp. 301. 32s.)

The 22 papers collected here provide the western reader with the opportunity of sampling the Russian approach to psychology, based on the twin tenets of dialectical-materialist and Pavlovian theory.

Following a general introduction by the editor, the chapters are concerned with such topics as perception, learning, memory, speech, and the development of voluntary movements and skills. There is a good deal of reference to changes in the course of development, and the rôle of language as an agent for abstraction and generalization is particularly stressed. An important rôle of the teacher is considered to be to diagnose the level of a child's conceptual activity and in the light of this to help him to achieve the next stage. This concern with stages of development is reminiscent of Piaget's work, except that here language is given a more important place in the attainment of conceptual thought.

One is also struck by the similarity between the Pavlovian theory of the formation of temporary connections—leading to the development of extremely complex dynamic organizations, especially at the verbal level—and Hebb's theory of 'cell assemblies' and phase sequence.

There is no specific reference to delinquency in the book, and one can only conclude on general grounds that its occurrence would be attributed to the acquisition of socially undesirable attitudes and systems of behaviour. Treatment would presumably depend on retraining.

There is a good deal of repetition in the book, and at times one senses the difficulty of fitting everything into the Pavlovian mould. Nevertheless, the impression remains that Pavlov made an outstanding contribution, which is much less atomistic, and permits of far greater degrees of flexibility, than many western text books might lead one to think. Undoubtedly his work would repay greater study, and Mr. Simon and his translators are to be thanked for permitting us a glimpse at some of the ways in which his theories have been followed up.

COLIN B. HINDLEY.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Inclusion in this list does not preclude a later review)

Books

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- H. BIANCHI. 'Position and Subject Matter of Criminology'. North Holland Publishing Co. 12 guilders.
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- H. E. GOLDIN *et al.* (Ed.) 'Dictionary of American Underworld Lingo'. Constable. 36s.
- E. F. GRIFFITH. 'Marriage and the Unconscious'. Secker and Warburg. 21s.
- R. HACKER. 'Telling the Teenagers'. André Deutsch. 8s. 6d.
- P. HALMOS. 'Towards a Measure of Man'. Routledge & Kegan Paul. 28s.
- M. KLEIN. 'Envy and Gratitude'. Tavistock Publications. 12s. 6d.
- M. M. LEWIS. 'How Children Learn to Speak'. Harrap. 8s. 6d.
- O. R. MCGREGOR. 'Divorce in England'. Heinemann. 18s.
- J. J. MICHAELS. 'Disorder of Character'. Illinois: Charles Thomas. 34s.
- A. F. PHILP and N. TIMMS. 'The Problem of the Problem Family'. Family Service Units. 7s. 6d.

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 R. V. SAMPSON. 'Progress in the Age of Reason'. Heinemann. 21s.
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 N. K. TEETERS and J. D. SHEARER. 'The Prison at Philadelphia: Cherry Hill'. Columbia University Press and Oxford University Press. 45s.
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Reports

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 Unesco. 'The University Teaching of Social Sciences—Criminology'.
 U.N. 'The Institutional Care of Children'. 3s. 6d.
 U.N. Secretariat. '1st U.N. Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders'. Geneva 1955. 9s.

Pamphlets

- J. A. MACK. 'Delinquency and the Changing Social Pattern'. 5th Charles Russell Memorial Lecture. 6d.
 J. B. MAYS. 'Adventure in Play'. Liverpool Council of Social Service. 3s. 6d.

ABSTRACTS

(Contributed by: W. R. Bett, T. Grygier, J. E. Hall Williams,
 J. P. Martin and J. C. Spencer).

PENOLOGY

SHELDON GLUECK: 'The Sentencing Problem', *Federal Probation*, 1956, **20**, 15–25.

Discusses in some detail the problem of inequalities in sentencing practice, and considers some devices developed for achieving uniformity. Takes the view that the best guide is likely to be provided by a series of predictive tables showing chances of success under various treatments. It is stressed, however, that such tables should be used with caution, within the limits imposed by public opinion and the adequacy of the information at the Court's disposal. Sentencing policies might be further integrated if judges could also sit on regional classification and parole boards.

J. P. M.

DONALD CLEMMER: 'Use of Supervisory Custodial Personnel as Counselors: An Expedient', *Federal Probation*, 1956, **20**, 36-42.

Describes an attempt by the Department of Corrections of the District of Columbia to solve the problem of the pressing shortage of professional staff by enlisting the services of custodial supervisors as counselors. No scientific evaluation of the programme has yet been made, but it is felt that relations between inmates and custodial staff have improved, that the approach has not been exploited by either side, and that the custodial staff are gaining insight and understanding of inmates' problems.

J. P. M.

H. A. PRINS: 'Some Observations on Prison After-Care', *Case Conference* **3**, 10, 290-95.

Some aspects of the work of an after-care officer are described, and three case histories are given.

J. P. M.

THORSTEN SELLIN: 'The Philadelphia Gibbet Iron', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1955, **46**, 11-25.

The gibbet iron in the Atwater Kent Museum in Philadelphia is probably the only complete example of its kind in America. It suggests that the gibbeting of executed offenders was not an unknown practice in colonial times. Its excellent state of preservation suggests that it may never have been put to its intended use. Professor Sellin considers the history of the gibbet in the American colonies.

J. C. S.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

RICHARD V. MCCANN: 'The Self-Image and Delinquency: Some Implications for Religion', *Federal Probation*, 1956, **20**, 3, 14-23.

The article describes some of the findings of a Harvard seminar of theological students interested in delinquency. The lack of ego-ideals or of persons admired is a common characteristic of adolescent delinquents. Where delinquents do admire others they do so unrealistically in that they choose ideals which they are quite incapable of emulating. Social expectations are often too high for them to achieve and they try to escape society's demands by forming an adolescent, and often delinquent, sub-culture. The implications of this in the religious field need further discussion.

J. P. M.

DIETRICH C. REITZES: 'The Effect of Social Environment upon former Felons', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1955, **46**, 226-231.

This study is one aspect of the Illinois Felon study which is primarily concerned with the adjustment of parolees in the armed forces during World War II. It examines the adjustment of these men after release into civilian life. A random sample of 176 cases was interviewed. The non-recidivists were found to differ significantly from the recidivists in their employment patterns; regularity of work, type of work and occupational mobility; their family life, particularly in terms of the conjugal family and their social relationships.

J. C. S.

MILTON W. HOROWITZ: 'The Psychology of Confession', *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1956, **47**, 197-204.

In this article Professor Horowitz explores the social psychological conditions under which confession occurs. These are : (1) The person is accused by authority or its representation. (2) Evidence is presented (or is believed available). (3) Forces friendly to the accused are reduced. (4) The person feels guilt. (5) The person perceives that confession is the path to psychological freedom.

J. C. S.

CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY

PRESTON A. MCLENDON: 'The Children's Doctor and Delinquency', *Southern Medical Journal*, 1957, **50**, 919-22.

The children's doctor can contribute to the prevention of delinquency by detecting biological handicaps, by ensuring that those amenable to treatment are corrected and that children with handicaps incapable of correction are helped to adjust themselves to, and live with, their disability. He should guard the patient from excessive attempts at correction of his handicap as these frequently tend to give an exaggerated view of its importance and encourage development of a feeling of inferiority. Medical men can also play a part in the reduction of juvenile delinquency by active support of the various organizations to which their expert practical advice would be welcome.

W. R. B.

JAMES V. LOWRY: 'Hospital Treatment of the Narcotic Addict', *Federal Probation*, 1956, **20**, 42-51.

Describes the work of the U.S. Public Health Services Hospital, Lexington, Kentucky. The last twenty years have shown considerable changes in the population admitted, with a notable decrease in those under sentence for criminal offences and an increase in voluntary, and much younger, patients. The patient of today tends to be a young Negro from a background of a broken home, or possibly having a weak and ineffective father. The great problem is that 40% of the voluntary patients leave within two weeks, whereas successful treatment depends on the patient having some motivation to live without narcotic drugs. 'To date medical science has discovered no way of artificially instilling this motivation'.

J. P. M.

SEXUAL PSYCHOLOGY

T. G. GRYGIER: 'Psychometric Aspects of Homosexuality', *Journal of Mental Science*, July, 1957, **103**, 514-526.

The author assumes that research into genesis and treatment of homosexuality is often hampered by technical difficulties. Assessment of relevant personality factors is usually inadequate and subjective. Measurement by means of psychological tests involves numerous errors and very seldom penetrates deeply enough to uncover the dynamics of homosexual activities. The paper surveys the existing psychological tests and evaluates their efficiency in this particular field. Its conclusions are :

(1) No exact measures of the direction of sexual attraction are available at present. Some indications, of uncertain validity, may be obtained by means of projective tests.

(2) There are more precise data on the homosexual's attitudes, behaviour and perception, but most of the published evidence is of doubtful value.

(3) Various psychological and cultural aspects of masculinity and femininity have been isolated and can be measured; but an indication of psychological femininity or masculinity in women is not always a sufficient basis for the diagnosis of homosexuality.

(4) Projective and developmental tests can be used successfully to establish the dynamic organisation underlying homosexual behaviour. A pilot study by means of a new projective questionnaire, the Dynamic Personality Inventory, is reported. The new test, developed by the author, appears to possess adequate validity for measuring the personality organisation of the homosexual; it has differentiated a group of male homosexuals from a control group of well adjusted men in terms of sexual identifications, social rôle taking and feminine narcissism. (91 references).

T. G.

SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

CARL FRANKENSTEIN: 'The Psychodynamics of Social Behaviour Disturbances: A comparison of Clinical Units'. *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, Winter, 1957, 2, 82-105.

The author puts forward a psychodynamic oriented classification of clinical units of dissocial behaviour. The units listed are: (a) waywardness, due entirely to accidental factors, (b) primary behaviour disorder (oedipal type), (c) neurotic dissociality which expresses itself in provocative and symbolic acts of aggression, (d) psychoneurosis without dissocial behaviour (this does not, strictly speaking, belong to the proposed classification), (e) psychopathic dissociality, characterised by ego-inflation, (f) dissociality in the mentally defective child, characterised by a high degree of automaticity, and (g) dissociality in the brain-injured child, due to a lack of ego-synthesis.

The clinical picture of primary behaviour disorders is described more fully. It is characterised by relational inability, reactive and anticipatory aggressivity and externality of experience and behaviour. The external world is perceived as aggressor, and the function of the ego is reduced to returning aggression. Relationships are feared and avoided, and therefore no internalisation is possible.

It is concluded that 'dynamic phenomenology', which combines clinical pictures with etiological considerations, offers a reliable basis for classification.

T. G.

LAW

BERNARD L. DIAMOND: 'With Malice Aforethought', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, Winter, 1957, 2, 1-45.

The criminal intent—*mens rea*—is regarded as the most fundamental concept in Anglo-American law. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the application of

dynamic psychiatry to legal problems in the light of historical developments and recent court decisions. A new type of relationship between psychiatry and the law is foreshadowed; it is based 'upon a real desire of the law to understand and to judge with full consideration given to unconscious factors and ego mechanisms'.

A comprehensive survey of developments, since the introduction of the concept of *mens rea* in biblical law, reveals that although this concept is essentially a psychological one, there are some trends against the use of a psychological basis for the definition of certain crimes. The concept of 'implied malice' is based on the circumstances of the crime, rather than upon the actual state of mind of the defendant. The theory of objective liability regards criminal intent as a legal fiction. In many cases the law defines specific crimes as committed with intent, and other crimes as committed without intent; psychiatric evidence with regard to real intent is not always admissible. Some recent court decisions show a more humane approach, and it is hoped that 'psychodynamic psychiatry will . . . become an important ally of the law in the more rational and humane administration of criminal justice [and] in directing the future evolution of . . . legal concepts towards psychological reality.'

T. G.

DONALD CLARK HODGES: 'Crimes against Property', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, Winter, 1957, 2, 47-81.

This paper discusses some philosophical aspects of the law related to property and its protection. It suggests that there are crimes of order as well as disorder, and our present definition of crimes against property is both too broad and too narrow. Crimes of disorder are generally committed without the co-operation of the victim and are punishable under the present law. Crimes of order are usually committed by the investor with the co-operation of the victim; in terms of the amount of criminal gain these crimes are most heinous, but judged in accordance with the conventional view they are least heinous. A broad conception of crime is suggested; crime is defined as 'any responsible violation of right, whether or not the right in question has been sanctioned by the political community.'

T. G.

ORVILL C. SNYDER: 'Who is Wrong About the M'Naghten Rule, and Who Cares?' *Brooklyn Law Review*, 1956, 23, 1-24.

In this lively article, the author maintains that the question of responsibility is as alive to-day as ever, and that we come most closely to grips with it in connection with the defence of insanity. The controversy aroused by the *Durham* case, and the recently expressed views of Dr. Guttmacher, Professor Weihofen and Professor Jerome Hall are considered.

J. E. H. W.

DAVID L. BULMER: 'Parental Rights and the Welfare of the Child', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, 1956, 120, 658-659.

The writer contends that much of our law relating to child-care hinges upon the conflict between parental rights and the welfare of the child, and it is upon this theme that he dwells in this article.

J. E. H. W.

DAVID L. BULMER : 'Recent Developments in the Law Relating to Illegitimate Children', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, 1956, **120**, 486-487.

JEROME HALL : 'Responsibility and Law : In Defence of the McNaghten Rules', *American Bar Association Journal*, 1956, **42**, 917-919, 984-989.

PROBATION

EDMOND FITZGERALD : 'The Presentence Investigation', *N.P.P.A. Journal*, October 1956, 320-336.

One of the main articles in a number exclusively concerned with Sentencing, it is a comprehensive discussion of American practice over presentence investigations. The value of such investigations was finally acknowledged in the Supreme Court in the case of *New York v. Williams*. Investigation has become, quantitatively, the main element of the Probation Officer's work. The article discusses the problems of meeting judicial and correctional needs in the report, and also the requirements of 'due process'. In conclusion a valuable summary of the administrative and case-work problems of compiling the report is given.

J. P. M.

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